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Abraham Lincoln Comparisons

Franklin Roosevelt

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection



Rousevelt F.D. Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt

LINCOLN—ROOSEVELT

HEN Lincoln freed the slaves, as the saying goes, he was making the first decisive gesture of authority looking toward an American society with an institution abolished in which humans were exchanged for money as between buyers and sellers.

The New Deal of the Roosevelt Administration has been accompanied with authoritative gestures looking toward certain guarantees to be established as between two classes, the sellers of wage-labor and the buyers thereof.

What Lincoln did when he issued his Emancipation Proclamation was curious, contradictory, preposterous. The persons of cold logic and flashlight minds who tried to penetrate the document, and with fine discrimination lay bare its anatomy, had hard going.

Likewise, there are proposals and announcements in connection with the NRA which are curious, contradictory, preposterous, if they are to be subjected to merely cold logic.

History, people, constructive events and incalculable explosions of violence, eventually will determine the values of the NRA proclamations as they did that of Lincoln on January 1, 1863. Lincoln stood up and told the world on that day that, owing to "military necessity," from then on all slaves in the insurrectionary states were free; the sale of them as chattel property was forbidden. At one stroke of his pen, it was said, he struck the chains from three million slaves. Also under his plea of military necessity he confiscated and extinguished property values of three billion dollars.

And yet—this was not quite what happened. There were exceptions named in the proclamation. In certain parishes of Louisiana and certain counties of other states occupied by the Union armies, the proclamation was not to apply. There the slaves were still to be slaves.

In those areas there were slaveholders manifesting loyalty to the Union, and for that and other reasons there would have been difficulties about the seizures of their property. Also the slaves of Missouri and Kentucky, border states that had not seceded, were still slaves.

In all of the unexcepted parts of the seceded states, however, the people of the African race were proclaimed forever free. In effect, then, Lincoln's proclamation said that wherever the Union armies had not won a foothold, there the black race was pronounced free.

FROM the viewpoint of cold logic, it looked silly. So said the New York *Herald* and the Chicago *Times*. So said the London *Times* ponderously and repetitively. So said the extremist abolitionists, such as Wendell Phillips.

Yet the moment you stepped away from the strict official language of the Emancipation Proclamation and looked at the hair-trigger circumstances lurking around it, the document was not so silly. It was rather terrible and foreboding, so much so that Confederate government officers and Southern newspapers accused "the monster" in the White House at Washington of calling on their slaves to revolt, to kill, to burn, to slake their lust. The Chicago Times agreed. So did the London Times.

How
Two Presidents
Sought Solutions
of Similar Problems

By CARL SANDBURG

When Senator Orville H. Browning of Illinois stepped into the White House one evening to talk with his old associate in law and politics, he heard Lincoln tell of worry and of fear that news might come of slave insurrections. Many there were like Lincoln expecting sudden reports of scores or hundreds of white men, women and children killed in their beds by negroes who had taken the Emancipation Proclamation to mean what it said and interpreted it as a license to massacre.

In some of the border state regiments, entire companies threw down their muskets in mutiny when the proclamation was read to them. When a Quaker-boy sergeant stopped in the White House on an errand, Lincoln questioned him very particularly about the feeling in the Army of the Potomac as to the newly-proclaimed freedom for the negro slaves. A brigadier from Illinois, John M. Palmer, called at the White House and Lincoln asked him what the officers and men had thought of the edict of freedom when it was announced. Palmer said it sounded to some of them as though the President had called across the South, "Arise, Peter, and slay."

The vividly keen and adorable Mary Boykin Chestnut, down in South Carolina, tried to read the noncommital faces of her servants, and wrote in her diary that she knew there were goings-on, thoughts and hopes never there till the news came that the Head of the Government had proclaimed them free, whatever that might mean in the days to come.

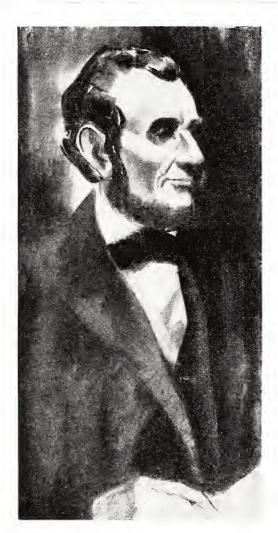
As the months passed by, Lincoln saw his hazardous proclamation win results. He once referred to it as "the central act of my Administration." He had proclaimed a status to exist where he had no power to enforce it. And the mere act of proclamation projected an idea that gained momentum from the instant it was spoken.

When some of us look at the bill of rights proclaimed from Washington during the past year, we can see parallels with Lincoln's declaration that a status existed where he had not yet the power to enforce it.

FULL

The six-hour day, the thirty-five-hour week, a living wage, guarantee of employment or unemployment insurance, the right of collective bargaining to be assured any genuinely organized labor union, these are curious, contradictory, preposterous, to those whose eyes linger on the past and cherish its precedents. They are proposals timed to an hour when the productive capacity of man and his machines has made material human poverty a ridiculous anachronism, when automatic machinery has abolished so many millions of jobs that reemployment of the unemployed is something that it never was under any previous crisis.

Those who live by selling their labor for wages, paid by those who buy labor, are having their status changed. What they themselves will do for themselves, or what they will wait for events to do for them, is yet to be seen. The pronouncements from Washington are more grandly in their favor now than at any time in the present generation.



FEBRUARY 10, 1934



Drawn for Today by Jack Floherty, Jr.

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY

To the Editor of the Post:

Sir-History fixes six outstanding Presidents of the United States: Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt, Wilson. Of these only two, Jackson and Roosevelt, enjoyed any large share of that intangible element,

large share of that intangible element, commonly known as popularity. Washington and Lincoln were compelled to endure malignant abuse. Each lived, however, to complete his work and rejoice that bitter taunts were changed to kindly tribute and harsh invective replaced by cordial praise. Cleveland and Wilson, idealists, lifted their party to highest victory, then watched icalousy and malice turn sucwatched jealousy and malice turn suc-

watched jealousy and malice turn success into defeat.

Measured in terms of genuine affection no President has ever approached a strength a hold upon the heads and earts of the American people equal to hat today possessed by President toosevelt. This appealing power cannot be ascribed to any one attribute. Nor can it be accurately defined. It may be due to conditions which disclose mankind seeking communion with the soul of a leader.

He spoke to the people of 54 countries

He spoke to the people of 54 countries in words directed to their hearts, requesting a study of disarmament. In his message to Congress at the time he said: "It is in order to secure these great human values that we seek peace by ridding the world of the weapons of aggression and attack." Human values. There's the secret!

'Twas the poblest message ever mould.

'Twas the noblest message ever moulded by the lips of man. A few days ago the President's birthday was celebrated by millions who made the occasion a movement for the relief of crippled children. He asked no personal attention, but with eloquence worthy the sainted Matthew he repeated: "And he that shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me." The response indicated a breadth of affection beyond the most extravagant antici-'Twas the noblest message ever mouldbeyond the most extravagant anticipations.

The fortitude of Washington, boldness and vigor of Jackson, patience of Lincoln, courage of Cleveland, gallantry of Theodore Roosevelt and scholarship of Wilson, every variety of talents to be found in the supreme six are welded in one in Roosevelt.

His perfect knowledge of history will compel him to avoid the errors of the past, and as he leads the world from material depression, America emerges the exalted head of civilization.

JOSEPH A. CONRY.

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IF WEST TO IT

URSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1936.

ROOSEVELT IS LIKENED TO LINCOLN AT ALBANY

Steingut Defends Andrews's Analogy Against Hamilton's Criticism in Assembly.

ALBANY, Feb. 12 (A).-Political debate over whether President Roosevelt should be compared to Abraham Lincoln or to Andrew

Abraham Lincoln or to Andrew Jackson followed a tribute to Lincoln in the Assembly today.

William T. Andrews, New York Democrat and one of the two Negro Assemblymen, in expressing the gratitude of his race to Lincoln for emancipation, compared President Roosevelt to "Honest Abe."

Assemblyman Laurens Hamilton, Rockland Republican, immediately challenged this.

"It is inconsistent to compare a man with Lincoln who is the counterpart of Andrew Jackson," he said.

terpart of Andrew Jackson," he said.

The Democrat minority leader, Irwin Steingut, stepped into the debate and himself compared the President with Lincoln.

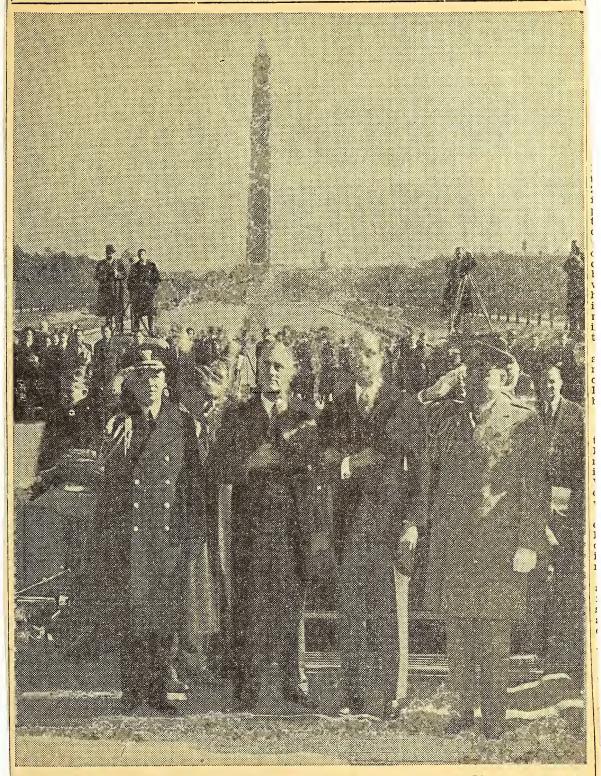
"I remember my history books said there was much strife in the nation when Lincoln was President. There were many who disagreed with Lincoln policies. We are now going through the same kind of crisis," Mr. Steingut said.

"But, Mr. Speaker, I venture the prediction that our children's children will look upon the present President of the United States as the great emancipator of his time.

"While some of us may disagree with him, President Roosevelt is passing through a critical period. He is trying to serve all the people. And, like Lincoln, he will go down in history as one of the great Presidents of this nation." in history as one of the great Presidents of this nation."

RAICOING TARK

Roosevelt Pays Tribute to Lincoln



President Roosevelt yesterday led the nation in paying tribute to Abraham Lincoln when he attended the annual memorial services held at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on the 128th birthday anniversary of the Great Emancipator. Left to right: Captain Paul Bastedo, President Roosevelt, James Roosevelt and Colonel E. M. Watson.

Feb. 1937

Roosevelt, Pres. AR, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 13, 1938-PART ONE.

Visit Lincoln Memorial

F. D.



Among visitors to the Lincoln Memorial on the birthday anniversary of the Civil War President yesterday were Mrs. Roosevelt, who is seen here explaining the Memorial to little Diane Hopkins, left, daughter of the W. P. A. administrator, and Ruth Chandler Roosevelt, daughter of Elliott Roosevelt.

—Harris-Ewing Photo.

ROOSEVELT LEADS LINCOLN TRIBUTE

Birthday Celebration Also Is Occasion for National Defense Pleas.

Tributes to President Lincoln and pleas for adequate national defense were combined as patriotic and civic organizations in the District observed the 129th anniversary of his birth.

The Military Order of the Loyal Legion was in charge of services at the Lincoln Memorial, where President Roosevelt placed a wreath. Capt. Patrick Tansey, assistant engineer commissioner, also placed a wreath in behalf of the Commissioners.

The birthday occasion also marked opening of observance of National Defense Week by the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States. Members of the association joined in a tribute to the Civil War President at the memorial, while Maj. W. R. Metz, Quartermaster Reserve, president of the District Department, spoke on "National Defense" over Station WJSV at 5:30 p.m.

Thirty-nine patriotic organizations participated in services at Lincoln Memorial, where Loyal Legion ceremonies included presentation of the national commandery colors, with an escort of soldiers, sailors, marines and coast guardsmen.

Advocates Strong Defense.

In his radio address Maj. Metz said the association now comprises more than 33,000 officers who are "naturally strongly in favor of continued peace. We fully advocate building up a strong sentiment for peace in this country, but insist at the same time that we build a system of national defense that will be a positive proof that we can live our national life unmolested. We believe in peace with preparedness."

"If you want peace," he urged, "get behind the National Defense Committee and get behind the President, who is wholeheartedly in favor of peace. He has the initiative and backbone to say to the world we need peace, but if we have to fight for it you can rest assured that we will give a good account of ourselves."

Highlights of Observance.

Highlights of the District observance of Lincoln's birthday also in-

cluded:

A luncheon at the Mayflower Hotel, arranged by the Dames of the Loyal Legion, with Miss Ann Rutledge, great-great-grandniece of Lincoln's one-time fiancee, as honor guest. Representative Reed, Republican, of Illinois was the main speaker.

An address by Senator Logan, Democrat, of Kentucky on "Lincoln the Man," at a celebration last night in the departmental auditorium, sponsored by the United Government Employes and the Good Fellowship Recreation Association of the Interior Department. Municipal Judge Armond J. Scott also spoke. Music was furnished by the Shiloh Baptist Church choir, directed by Mrs. W. Patterson,

Roosevelt And Lincoln

INVOCATION of Lincoln is a legitimate oratorical prerogative of one who seeks the heights; and President Roosevelt is fond of exercising that prerogative. Indeed, he is habitually disposed to cast himself in situations which he conceives to be analogous to those which Lincoln confronted.

At Gettysburg, on July 3, for instance, Mr. Roosevelt referred to our being in "another conflict as fundamental as that which Lincoln fought," and said: "We are near to winning that battle."

Presumably he was saying that government of the people, by the people, for the people has been in danger and that the danger is being subdued through his own leadership. He believes—and probably sincerely, even if mistakenly—that all his critics are evil marplots conceiving the direct designs.

At the same time, curiously enough, he heartily extolled Lincoln's great-hearted liberality toward opponents, his earnest desire always to reconcile dissidents, to reunite and reweld the people—"with malice toward none, with charity for all."

This, we say, is curious. For, Mr. Roosevelt, reverently admiring that spirit in Lincoln, seems unaware of his own characteristic inclination in a direction diametrically opposite to that which Lincoln was wont to take.

Even as Mr. Roosevelt spoke at Gettysburg, he was making final plans for a campaign of bitter reprisal against men of his own political party whose only offense has been that they were unable on good conscience to support him in his every notion, every policy.

Let Mr. Roosevelt quote Lincoln all he will, he is not at all like Lincoln. In fact, he resembles no character less. He is much more convincing when he dresses himself up as Andrew Jackson, who declared that "to the victors belong the spoils."

Lincoln was eager to "bind up the Nation's wounds." But on the eve of the presidential election of 1936, Mr. Roosevelt, feeling assured of victory, shouted with vindictive bitterness: "I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master!"

Was that spoken like Lincoln?

By the way, "match," as the President used the word, means "That which is exactly like another."

free or down ex Cleveland, Frederick A.

SAYS ROOSEVELT

BIT LIKE LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln would have gone down in the annals of history as a great man even if he had been in the White House during this era of economic chaos, according to Professor Frederick A. Cleveland, who, as the the Maxwell Foundation professor of United States Citizenship, conducts the course, "Great Names in History," at Boston University's College of Business Administration.

"Lincoln was a great humanitarian," the Boston University professor stated in commenting on the 130th anniversary of the Great Emancipator. "At no time during his administrations did he give any signs of political ambitions. He was first and always a humanitarian, and he is somewhat similar to President Roosevelt, who is also a humanitarian, but whose trait is mixed with political ambition."

Clouds Over Inaugural Likened to Lincoln Era

World Slave States Threaten Now; U. S. Must Avoid Emotionalism

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20. 444

Clouds hanging over this Roosevelt inaugural are as heavy as those which shadowed Lincoln's first.

Now, as then, the American people face a threat to their national security. Now, as then, we are torn between a fervent wish that the threat dissolve of itself without our going to war and a fear that it won't be that easy. Now, as then, we are hoping, with waning encouragement, that some way may be found.

As Lincoln was preparing to leave Springfield for Washington to be inaugurated Congress was working over this hard dilemma. The conflict between wish and reality was as irreconcilable as it seems again today.

Lincoln Opposed Compromise

One of Lincoln's political intimates, Representative Kellogg, of Illinois, proposed in Congress a compromise with slavery to allow it to spread on westward. Lincoln had set his course against such compromise long before his House-Divided Speech. He believed that the Nation could not survive half slave and half free.

Yet at the eleventh hour a new effort was being made to try it. Railroad executives favored compromise with the South. Cyrus H. McCormick, the farm-machinery manufacturer, at a mass meeting urged peaceful separation of the States. Plans for a Pacific Coast Republic were being discussed. Many thought that rather than have a war that would put brother to shooting brother it would be better to allow the Nation to split up into a number of independent nations. Lincoln came on to Washington convinced there was no compromise and took the hard way, knowing the cost would be heavy.

Slave States Become Strong

Today we are debating whether the world can go on being half slave and half free. It has been so for many centuries, but now the slave States have become strong and have undertaken to upset the balance. They already have forced their way across Europe, with a parallel advance into southeastern Asia. We see them attempting to take complete control of both ocean shores opposite us.

They are menacing the sea gates into the Atlantic and threatening the world sea control which has been exercised jointly by the United States and Britain. We are now trying to decide among ourselves how much it is worth to preserve that control, just as in 1861 the Nation was trying to decide how much it was worth to prevent the union from splitting up into sectional nations.

Kennedy Reflects Inner Conflict

Former Ambassador Joseph Kennedy reflects this inner conflict between wish and reality in his broadcast. He made these points:

A just peace is not in the cards now—Hitler proclaims he is waging a war for a new world order where our society of justice according to law cannot even exist.

We must give the "utmost" aid to England.

If Germany succeeds to the British navy we are not prepared to defend our own shores, let alone North America.

How much material we can safely give England must be decided by the President, acting with Army and Navy experts.

Our lot in the future will be a difficult one—win, lose or draw. Kennedy is divided within his own mind, as is almost everyone else except unthinking hotheads like those who ripped down the Nazi flag in San Francisco. Spread of such emotionalism as that would only trap us into thoughtless and perhaps foolish actions. If we are spared such inflammatory incidents we will reach our decision rationally, on the basis of what is best for the United States, everything considered. It must be a democratic decision, a thoughtful decision, not a mere snapping of taut nerves.



The "Teheran, Iran," Meeting of the Representatives of Three Great Powers. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill Laid Plans to Remake the World, Dec. 6, 1943

PHIA INQUIRER. SUNDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 13, 1944



ROOSEVELT PAYS HOMAGE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN
President Roosevelt is shown standing bareheaded as a wreath was placed at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington yesterday. Standing with the President (left to right) are Mrs. John Roosevelt, wife of the President's youngest son; Mrs. Roosevelt, Sergeant Frederick Schneider, President's chauffeur, and Major General E. M. Watson.

PRESIDEN BATTLEFRON

Here is a new Record feature—a forum in which both major political parties may carry

on their campaign for votes.

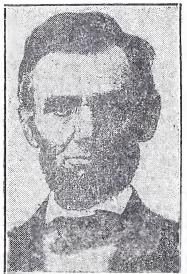
Half of the space below has been allotted to the Republican National Committee, half to the Democratic National Committee. Each may fill its half with whatever material it chooses, both in text and illustration.

Everything in this space is OFFICIAL campaign material, selected by the directing heads of the two parties. The Record keeps its hands off and does not edit, or even write the headlines. This feature will appear each Sunday, Tuesday and Friday throughout the campaign. iong desimy of manamu,

(Provided by the Republican National Committee)

A TIME FOR GREATNESS IS IT ANY WONDER THAT WILSON united the

When America's sons were dying in the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln said:



"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?...Justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people. ... The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."



When America's sons were dying in World War I President Woodrow Wilson, speaking to members of the American Federation of Labor, said:

"... I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel-the words which men should speak to one another, who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than . . . the world has ever known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the land doction of manlind !



people to save the Nation?

When America's sons were dying in World War II. here is what President Franklin D. Roosevelt said to the Teamsters' Union:



"I am actually four years older.... I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time. . . . We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a handspring without falling flat on his back. . . . The opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. . . . They now include my dog, Fala. . . . I think I have a right to object to libelous statements about my dog."

IS IT ANY WONDER THAT Americans agree -"It's Time to Change."

Same Criticisms Hurled At Lincoln as at F.D.R. In Re-election Campaign

By LEE MORRIS

Eighty years ago, during the only other wartime election in America's history, the issues, the red herrings and the general lineup were surprisingly similar to those of today.

Abraham Lincoln, the people's candidate, was running for reelection in 1864. The "best people" and their funds were arrayed against him. Congress was hostile.

Called a Tired Old Man

He was called a tired old man. He was accused of wanting to be a dictator and of destroying the Constitution. He was roundly hated and abused. He was charged with mismanaging the war and with sacrificing soldiers' lives to gain political ends.

Indispensability was an issue in that campaign, too. "Don't change horses in the middle of the stream" had its origin then. "Bring the boys back home" was a significant from Communism campaign. an issue. Even Communism came

into the picture.

Let's look at the campaign as it appears in Volume 3 of Carl Sandburg's "Abraham Lincoln:

The War Years."

Dewey has called Roosevelt a "tired old man," and another Republican has said he could not live through another term. The same statements were made about Lincoln. The press in 1864 teemed with references to the President's shattered health.

Former Congressman Riddle, seeing Lincoln in April, was shocked to see how he had changed in five months: "He looked like a man worn and harassed with political fault-finding and criticism, until he had turned at bay, like an old stag pursued and hunted by a cowardly rabble of men and dogs."

Lincoln himself once murmured half-dreamily to a visitor from Michigan: "I'm a tired man. Sometimes I think I'm the tiredest man

on earth.'

"Don't Change Horses"

The "don't change horses" issue, which led to charges that Lincoln claimed he was indispens able, seems to have originated in 1864 when he said to a Union

League committee:

"I have not permitted myself, gentlemen, to conclude that I am the best man in the country; but I am reminded in this connection of an old Dutch farmer who remarked to his companion that 'it was not best to change horses

while crossing a stream."

To this the Boston Courier retorted with doggerel quoting "Columbia careworn and pale" as

saying: "I yow I will drive a respectable

team, Though forced to change horses when crossing a stream!"

Other anti-Lincoln newspapers printed the slogan: "Time to Swap Horses November 8th"

This issue naturally led to the opposition claim that Lincoln considered himself indispensable.

Criticized in Papers

The Chicago Times caricatured the issue thus: "I, Abraham Lincoln, hereby nominate myself as a candidate for re-election."

The New York World went as

far as one of the whispering campaigns of 1944, saying of Lincoln:
"His adherents do not blush in comparing him to God."

Perhaps some persons really thought Lincoln was indispens-able. Ralph Waldo Emerson, at any rate, wrote:
"Seldom in history was so

Much staked on a popular vote."

As Sandburg says in one of his chapter headings, "The Man Had Become the Issue." Then as now.

In 1864 the charge that Lincoln was a dictator-king, tyrant,

usurper of power—was wide-approad and he was charged with tampering with the Constitution and destroying the liberties of the

The New York World, charging that Lincoln's renomination had deepened his idea of becoming

king, cried:
"Let us return to the Constitution and banish into outer darkness the superficial demagogue whose jesting, jibing tongue, amid our awful sorrows, betokens the presence of a buffoon and something worse."

The Chicago Times warned that if re-elected, Lincoln might pack the Surreme Court.

the Supreme Court:
"There is one bulwark of our liberties which the impious hands of Mr. Lincoln and his crazy Administration have not been able to strike down . . . the Supreme Court of the United States."

Sure enough, before his death, majority of the Justices were

Lincoln appointees.

The anti-Lincoln press printing such slogans as-The Constitution As It Is The Union As It Was

Lincoln Has Reply

But Lincoln had his reply, which has its applications today, to those who called him a de-

stroyer of liberty:
"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same

act, as a destroyer of liberty. . . . "Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty, and precisely the same difference prevails among us human beings, even in

the North....
"Hence we behold the process
thousands are daily by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and by others as the destruction of all liberty." Lincoln, even more than Roose-

velt in 1944, was abused for cracking jokes during a tragic era. One of the most widely circulated lies of that campaign was the charge that Lincoln had asked a companion to sing a coarse vaudeville

The World cried out: "We have a buffoon and a gawk for President."

The New York Evening Post generous or heroic in the tone of his administration"

The Richmond Examiner called Lincoln: "The obscene ape of Illinois."

The New York Herald in an editorial denounced him as "the great ghoul at Washington."

Among other epithets applied to Lincoln, according to Harper's Weekly in 1864, were: Filthy story teller, despot, liar, monster, ignoramus, fiend, butcher, tyrant and stallion.

"Best People" Against Him

The tone of such criticisms meant, of course, that the "best people" were Lincoln haters and only the "riff-raff" supported him. William Cullen Bryant expressed a typical reaction in well-groomed

circles when he wrote:
"I am so disgusted with Lincoln's behavior that I cannot muster respectful terms in which to

write him."

Naturally, then, the money-bags were arrayed against him.

As Sandburg tells us:
"Marching solidly behind Mc-Clellan were powerful forces, the banking and transportation interests linked with August Belmont, Dean Richmond, Aspinwall, the industrial churchman seen pre-eminently in Cyrus H. McCor-mick, of Chicago; an array of respectably wealthy and intellectual or aristocratic types embodied in Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston."

Soldier Vote an Issue, Too

Whether the soldier in the field had the right to vote in an election was an issue in 1864, too. Lincoln was eager to have the men vote, feeling that his election might depend on it.

Soldier-vote laws were passed in most States, but defeated in Delaware, New Jersey and Indiana. The first two of these were the only strictly Northern States Lincoln failed to carry in November. (He also lost the border State of Kentucky.) The soldier vote was everywhere heavily pro-Lincoln-48,000 to 7000 in Ohio.

In New York two anti-Lincoln election inspectors were found guilty of trying to steal soldier votes and substitute marked bal-

It was charged that all the power and influence of the War Department were being used to

make the soldiers vote for Lincoln-a fear similar to that expressed by Senator Taft in 1944.

Lincoln was accused of wishing to provoke riots in New York that would give him an excuse for military intervention, of sending into slaughter a regiment likely to vote against him and of decoying his opponents into forging soldiers' ballots in order to discredit them!

The charge, so similar to insinuations made by Dewey in 1944, that Lincoln had mismanaged the war by interfering with the military leadership, was made freely in 1864, when his opponent for the Presidency was the genfor the Presidency was the general he had replaced as commander in chief.

The New York Herald lamented the "military apathy" of Grant, which it laid at the door of "the utter brainlessness of the Administration in Washington."

Linked With Communism

The association of Lincoln with Communism came straight from the horse's mouth, in a letter of congratulation written by Karl

Marx himself.
Marx had signed the Communist Manifesto 17 years earlier, and in 1864 was internationally known as a advocate of Communism. He was also, curiously enough, a foreign correspondent of the New York Tribune.

After Lincoln was re-elected, Marx wrote a letter of congratulation to Lincoln on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, whose banner was the red flag. In it Marx said:

"The working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes . . . that . . . their hopes of the future, even their past conquests, were at stake in that tremendous conflict."

This, of course, was highly embarrassing, and Ambassador Charles Francis Adams, in London, replied, after considerable delay, that insofar as the sentiments were personal the President Charles and the Charl ments were personal, the President welcomed them, but that the American Government was not, of course, a supporter of revolutionary movements in Europe.

States' Rights Fight

Dewey is trying to make States' rights an issue in 1944. It was the biggest issue of all in 1864, and Lincoln's worst enemies were on the same side of that issue as Dewey is on today.

Even the Negro vote, such as it was, was for Lincoln in 1864, and seems, judging by the public opinion polls, to be overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in 1944.

It therefore appears to be true that there is a remarkable resemblance between the issues Dewcy is raising against Roosevelt in 1944 and those which were raised against Lincoln in 1864.

And Roosevelt, if he is re-elected again, could do worse than echo, with only one minor change, the words spoken by Lincoln when he accepted notification of

re-election in 1864:
"It has been demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. . . . May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our country?'

October 15, Sunday. RECORD, d f PHILADELPHIA - South Favors Lincoln -

Civil War Hate Gone

'Abe' Ranked with FDR

Illianilines By ED L. CAMPBELL 19/12/43

ATLANTA, Feb. 11 (AP)—Native-born and adopted citizens of the country below the Mason-Dixon line view with kindly eyes today the man who steered the Union to a victory over the Southern Gray 80 years ago.

Atlantians probably speak as Representative Southerners; certainly the memories of the Confederacy are bright in this metropolis, which still observes the anniversary of its burning by Sherman's legions.

s

And Atlantians rank Abraham Lincoln with just two other Presidents—George Washington and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Sojourners from other states, from Virginia to Texas, say that rule-of-thumb rating suits the folks in their part of the country, too.

The feeling, sometimes not easily voiced, seems to be that the Illinois rail splitter was really the greatest friend the South had in that war-torn era of civil strife and that his assassination robbed the defeated states of their best chance to achieve a quick return to normalcy.

Historians may flinch a bit at the handling of details, but here's a typical extemporaneous expression that covers the picture:

"Lincoln was a good man. He did the best he could in a bad time. The South lost the war because we dldn't have enough men. Lincoln would have been good to the South. It was too bad that he got killed."

That came from a working girl whose family is Georgian-straight back. Her education was limited to high school and the logic and lore picked up at home and at work.

With variations of erudition, the same reaction comes from all

Speak of the Reconstruction period, the answers brim with bitterness. Take up racial issues, and you get interminable argument. Discuss states' rights and confusion reigns.

But mention Abraham Lincoln and all is harmony.

The South may be some years away from going so far as to declare Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday, but individual Southerners bow reverently to his memory and proudly link themselves with him as Americans.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN Poplar Buff, ILL.
DATE oprif 13 1945

History will say this about President Roosevelt: He and Abraham Lincoln had much in common.

They led their people through war to the promised land of peace. They were not permitted to enter. They died on the edge of it.

It will be up to us—President Truman, Congress, the State De-partment and the nation—to see that the parallel ends there.

The years that followed Lincoln's

death were tragic.

The two great wartime presidents died 80 years apart, almost to the day.

President Roosevelt died April 12, 1945, just before the allies were ready to declare organized resistance in Germany ended.

President Lincoln died of an assassin's bullet April 15, 1865, just six days after the war between the North and South ended.

Ahead of both men lay the tremendous job of reconstruction and a prosperous peace. Both had vis-

For Lincoln it meant reconstructing the shattered South, healing the bloody wounds of civil war, making North and South one country again.

For Roosevelt it meant helping reconstruct the world, politically

and economically:

Working out a peace in Europe, finishing the war with Japan, setting up a league to prevent war, easing this country back to peacetime work, and full employment.

Because he died too soon, no one will ever know how Lincoln would have solved the problems ahead of

Hatred, greed, vengeance blossomed like evil flowers after Lincoln's death.

Nor will anyone be able to say exactly how well President Roosevelt had laid the foundation for world peace, prosperous and secure. He killed himself working for it.

But we'll see-people like you and me-what our statesmen and our congressmen build upon 'the groundwork he laid.

Lincoln was for treating the southerners mildly. With Lincoln gone, Congress cooked a bitter plan of reconstruction for the South. ..

And finally Congress tried to impeach Lincoln's successor in the White House, Andrew Johnson. If Lincoln had lived he might have been able to win Congress to his way of thinking.

President Roosevelt is succeeded by Harry S. Truman. Truman is a quiet man. He hasn't given any evidence of the wide Roosevelt vision but on the other hand he has had small opportunity to do so.

He goes into the White House well-liked by congressmen. He was one of them himself, a Senator; until his election to the Vice Presidency last fall.

But most of the world probably never heard of him until this hour. The Roosevelt prestige until now had dominated our foreign relations.

Yet much of the shape of the world to come will depend on Tru-

mans' leadership.

He'll have to use that leadership in the serious problems here at home, and abroad in international dealings.

One of the things to think about is this: Will Congress go along with President Truman and play ball with him?

A rebellious Congress—or a Congress no longer overshadowed by the Roosevelt charm and high intentions-could wreck the new President's plans and his administration.

One of the mot vivid achievements of Mr. Roosevelt's whole career is the United Nations conference in San Francisco April 25 to create a league to prevent war.

It's one of the cornerstones of the Roosevelt postwar program. But it's only one of the mile posts along that thorny and uncomfortable road President Truman will travel before he rounds out his term in the White House.

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TOWN. J. Jeolus ..., ILL.

Martyr-Like Lincoln

Secretary of State Stettinius: A great leader has passed on into history at an hour when he was sorely needed. Once before in an hour of national crisis our country suffered such a loss. Like Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt has truly given his life that America might live and freedom be upheld.

Former Secretary of State Cordell Hull: President Roosevelt's statesmanship must continue to inspire us for the crucial task which even now is before us—the task of building a world peace... No greater tragedy could have befallen our country and the world at this time. His inspiring vision, his high statesmanship and his superb leadership were factors without which the united nations could not have come to the present phase of the war with victory just in sight.

Sen. Wiley (R-Wis)—A great American President political differences vanish, old conflicts and wounds are healed in the deep grief and respect of the nation for its departed chief executive.

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Manning Stow.

TOWN Peoria ILL.

DATE April 14 1945

"When he needed a man in the revolutionary war period, God gave us George Washington and in the Cival War period we had Abraham Lincoln. In the first World War, there was Woodrow Wilson and in the present great catastrophe, Mr. Roosevelt.

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DATE Of M. 1.4. 1945

Reveal Comment In British Press On Roosevelt's Death

London, April 13.—(P)—British press comment on the death of President Roosevelt:

Daily Herald—"We have lost a loyal friend, dauntless comrade in arms and steadfast champion of those causes which called the British people to war. . . . He has died, alas, too soon to give mankind the benefit of his wisdom in the difficult task of peacemaking which is about to begin."

Daily Telegraph—"He'll be remembered with Abraham Lincoln as a leader who set and kept his country on the path of true greatness with humanity, steadiness of purpose, grandeur and vision unsurpassed in the records of mankind.... This country in particular owes him a debt which can never be repaid for his understanding, help and confidence in the darkest hours."

Daily Express—"He gave his life for his country and for the world as freely and willingly as the finest young American who goes into battle risking all this day. Such was his prestige, such was his influence, such was the lustre attached to his name that his passing will dim the glory of this hour. He was loved in England as much as our own great warrior Churchill."

News-Chronicle—"Franklin Roosevelt was twentieth century democracy's man of destiny. He became its champion by virtue first of the New Deal and then of the unflinching moral stand he took against tyranny and aggression, and the outspoken courage with which he denounced dictators before the war itself began."

Daily Mail—"This aristocrat in democracy, this internationalist in a land half isolationist, this invalid in a world at strife yet found strength to check, to harness, to govern and finally to turn the forces that threatened America with catastrophe and

destruction into forces that created a healthier and saner people. Bitterly, ironically, the author of American victory lies dead."

Yorkshire Post—"The thought that we had a stout hearted friend in the president of the United States sustained us in our struggle against a menacing tyranny. We were justified in our faith. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was an Abraham Lincoln for courage and leadership."

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill.
PHONE 960

TOWN Jacksonville ILL.

DATE of ril. 14. 1945.

Special Chapel Service At MacMurray For Late Leader

A special chapel service as a memorial to President Franklin D. Roosevelt was held at two o'clock Friday at Grace church, MacMurray College students and faculty attending. The memorial service included special music by the College Choir and brief memorial speeches by President Clarence P. McClelland, Dean Wendell S. Dysinger and Professor Alfred J. Henderson. The memorial prayer was given by Rev. McKendree M. Blair. The tribute by President McClelland to President Roosevelt was as follows:

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

"Not since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln almost exactly eighty years ago has the nation been so shocked by the death of any one person as by the sudden and unexpected death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. For thirteen years he had been our President, and during this time he carried a burden of responsibility and toil such as no other President ever carried and which finally he, even with his unusual physical strength and endurance, could carry no longer. He died for our country and for the cause of human freedom as truly as any soldier in battle.

"He was our Leader. We depended upon him to a far greater degree than we realized until he was gone. We were proud of him. We knew his vast capacity of mind and heart. We felt that he worthily represented us in the councils of the nations. His remarkable courage, his quick intelligence, his wide knowledge, his long and varied experience in public affairs, his broad humanity, his keen moral vision, his uncompromising advocacy of the rights of the common man made him supreme among the statesmen of his time and enabled him to render a service to the world of incalculable worth. He was ever a fighter and won many a battle for the common good. His 'best and last fight' had two objectives; to defeat the Axis Powers and to

create a world organization for t establishment of a sound and last ing peace.

"But it could not be. Just as Ge many was being overwheimed our conquering armies and victo over Japan assured, and even as I was approaching the supreme te of his leadership and popularity the San Francisco Conference, h physical powers failed and his ga lant and indomitable spirit returne to God who gave it and he joine the immortals.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN guincy ILL.

DATE of whigh 15 1942

IS America kind when it elects a man to the presidency? Is it kind or even just to the man whom it chooses to give this service? The three presidents, Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt, the presidents during major wars, are the best examples of men who become human sacrifices for the great services they sought to give their countrymen.

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, III. PHONE 960

PAPER Whigh
TOWN Junery HLL.

DATE opril 15. 1945

Three Wartime Presidents Prove That America Is Not Kind to Its Best Servants

Careers of Lincoln, Wilson and Roosevelt, Different in Many Respects, Follow Pattern of Great Crises, Courageous Service, Bitter Abuse and Final Sacrifice.



To you and me, common citizens, the presidency of the United States is a post filled with privilege and glamor. To the man who holds the position it is a task of grueling work, tremendous responsibility, and thankless service. Even in times designated as normal—in the modern time there no longer seems to be a day that is normal—the presidency has become the hardest job in the world. In time of war its responsibilities are too heavy for any mortal to continue to bear.

Three wartime presidents, Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt, are examples of the trials that presidents are called upon to endure and the penalties which, in the end, men must pay for this service. These three war presidents faced problems that were almost insurmountable, made decisions which affected the world's history, were honored by some but especially were reviled so bitterly that the vocabulary of epithets was almost exhausted, and finally were tragic martyrs to great causes.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, III. PHONE 960

TOWN. Volond..., ILL.

DATE offil 15. 1945

Prof. Lybyer Speaks Before Honorary

Professor A. H. Lybyer, internationally known authority on world affairs, was the speaker for the "Guest Night" dinner of Xi chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma, national honorary fraternity for women teachers, Thursday evening in the Colonial room of the Illini Union. Miss Maud Hollingshead was chairman of the hostess committee.

Professor Lybyer was introduced by Mrs. John Miles, program chairman. The speaker, commenting upon the sudden death of President Roosevelt, drew a parallel with the death of Lincoln in the midst of crisis. He emphasized the point by reading quotations from Walt Whitman's poems, which were written in tribute to Lincoln and which were also applicable to this occasion. Professor Lybyer feels that "we have lost a great statesman and lover of humanity who most certainly was interested in trying to prevent World War III," With this thought in mind, President Roosevelt was developing a good neighbor policy in the western hemisphere with the hope that it might be extended in some way to the rest of the world.

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ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN. Clinder. ILL.

DATE Afril 15. 1245.

Nation Pays Homage

At the hour of the last service the whole nation was paying homage to Mr. Roosevelt. The armed forces, scattered to every corner of the earth, paused for five minutes' silent prayer—unless engaged in actual combat. Factories fell silent and the great wheels of war production were stilled for a fleeting moment.

In many churches in Washington and elsewhere memorial services for the President were read at the same hour. In Washington government offices were closed in mourning as were business establishments in many parts of the country.

The ceremony brought to a close a day in the capital as solemn and silent as could be remembered. The mourning of the people was deep. Not a few recalled the curious circumstances that just 80 years ago to the very day the nation had plunged into mourning for another war leader, Abraham Lincoln.

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PAPER Herold more TOWN Marcon 44.

Macon Citizens Pay Tribute To Roosevelt

Macon people paid last tributes to the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at 3 o'clock last Saturday with a community Memorial Service, held at the Presbyterian Church under the auspices of the Ministerial Alliance.

Almost all business firms, observing Mayor Noll's proclamation closed their doors from 3 to 4 p. m., in spite of the fact that one of the largest crowds of shoppers of the season was in Macon Saturday and the business section was packed with cars.

The Presbyterian Church was filled to capacity and chairs were brought in and placed in the aisles.

The Memorial Service address as given by the Hon. Walter C. Goodson, is as follows:

How closely our nation is united

today!

More than 130 million souls with but this single, throbbing thought: Sorrow for our dead leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. However bitterly we may have wrangled in the past, politically, commercially and otherwise, this great national bereavement has brought us together, brothers and sisters, with hands and hearts interlocked and with heads bowed under our common load of lamentation.

Again are we proving, as we never fail to prove under stress, that irrespective of creeds and factions we are "One Nation, indivisible" with charity and justice for all.

In this solemn hour, no race, no creed, no party lines divide us. We are Americans, all! Our beloved President is dead! A stricken world bows with us at his bier. Indeed this heavy touch of sorrow has made the wide world kin.

There have been instances in battle when the sudden death of

a commanding officer has thrown the surviving company into disastrous confusion.

The perilous necessity has come to us now of changing leaders on the verge of a post-war recon-

struction period.

The victory for which our armed forces have bravely fought and for which many have died, is almost here; but the skilled hand that we were trusting to blueprint the peace for us, is suddenly stilled. In this great emergency let us work and pray toward the end that our hosts of patriots in these United States of America shall dash away their tears and faithfully carry on in the name of final peace and democracy under the new administration.

During the heat of a political campaign each of us stands staunchly for his own party candidate, and persistently fights for his own party's preferment. But Roosevelt became your president and my president—and he has justified the allegiance we have all

accorded him.

Probably there is no existing family whose opinions always coincide. Much less can the citizens of a great republic like the United States be expected invariably to entertain parallel view points. Naturally this country points. has not always agreed one hundred per cent with all of our late president's policies, but his sincerity and fearlessness have commanded our respect; his high honor and outstanding ability have engaged our admiration and; his profound and kindly concern for the welfare of mankind has won our love.

The poet Gray has declared that the paths of glory lead but to the grave. In the realm of earthly existence that truth has been demonstrated over and over, but never more signally than now.

Franklin Roosevelt—four times elected President of the greatest nation on Earth; more than once proclaimed the world's leading

citizen; repeatedly called across continents and seas into council with the world's mightiest leaders, "A man among kings and a king among men"—surely no one else has ever trod more literally a path of glory! Yet tomorrow all that is mortal of President Roosevelt must be committed to the grave.

"The inevitable hour" strikes for potentates, as well as for peasants, for presidents no less than for the humblest citizen. And it is when the ultimate frailty of the strongest power is thus illustrated that we recognize most unmistakably the Omnipotence of God—God the Supreme Leader to whom the

highest and lowest earthly powers are alike subject.

Even as Abraham Lincoln was the greatest casualty of the Civil far, so Franklin Reservent is the reatest world casualty of the present Global War. He overtaxed his strength in service to his fellow men. His merciful Father has called him to rest. But no flower-strewn mound can compass his influence. His Christian character has left an impression for eternal good upon his native land, indeed upon the world. His

soul marches on!
From the depths of heavy hearts today we cry in bewilderment: "Why was he not spared until the cause for which he wrought so valiantly was finally won? Why was he taken before his plans for universal democracy were completely charted?" May I bring you an answer which so many times has given me comfort?

"God's plans like lilies pure and white unfold.

We must not tear the close shut leaves apart,

Time will reveal the calyxes of gold.

And if through patient toil we reach the goal

Where tired feet, with sandals loose, may rest,
Then we shall clearly know

Then we shall clearly know and understand

How all God's plans are best."

If from out the far reaches of Eternity the voice of our departed leader could today come floating back to our firesides, I wonder if he might say something like this: My friends, a crisis time for you lies ahead. Stand strong! Stand together! Rally to the aid of your new president. Let no petty differences or criticisms of yours add to the staggering load he has to bear. Trust God to guide your world leaders. Hold high the torch of Freedom entrusted to your hands.

At this very hour in the historic East Room of the White House in Washington a last tribute of respect is being paid the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

It is in vain that we attempt to memoralize a man who dedicated his indomitable will, his great intellect, and his even greater heart to the hope and help of humanity. Words, fail, canvas fades, bronze corrodes and marble crumbles. But because he has built his life into the lives of the people, his monument shall be "like the Cedars of Lebanon which abide forever."

Lincoln and Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April-17, 1945

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, I offer for the Record an address delivered by Dr. M. L. Wilson, Director of Extension Work of the Department of Agriculture of the United States at a memorial service held at Ford's Theater here in Washington on Sunday, April 15, 1945.

This occasion was sponsored by the Lincoln Group of Washington, assisted by the National Park Service of the Government, commemorating the eightieth anniversary of the death of President Abraham Lincoln:

This day is a peculiarly sad day, Just as April 15, 1865, was a historically sad day. This meeting, which it has become a custom of the Lincoln Group of the District of Columbia to hold each year on April 15, was planned to assist in the noble purpose of revering the memory of Lincoln. Yet fate has decreed that within the last 4 hours the mortal remains of our great war President, our Commander in Chief in this war to preserve democracy and Christianity on the face of the earth, have been laid to rest in the peaceful mother earth of his ancestral home which he loved so well. It is one of the odd circumstances of history that significant dates of three of our greatest Presidents lie within the small compass of 4 days. Franklin D. Roosevelt died on April 12. Thomas Jefferson was born on April 13. Abraham Lincoln became immortal on April 15.

Today is a day that the living will never forget. Eighty years ago our fathers and mothers, our grandfathers and grandmothers, were shocked by the sad news of the most dastardly tragedy of history, which was enacted in this room. Today we are shocked by the death of our great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The suspense and tragedy of war made "Father Abraham" almost a member of the family circle of many of our ancestors, and friend to those soldiers and sailors who served under him. For the same reason, war and modern ways of communication made Franklin D. Roosevelt, our Com-

mander in Chief, an intimate friend, a friend to us all.

There are many similarities that are much more than surface traits of these two men—Lincoln and Roosevelt. While it is true that both had different backgrounds, different types of ancestors, different opportunities as young men, yet both were truly American and were products of the soil, and of the people of our great Republic. With both, there was that hope and courage so characteristic of democratic society that led their spirits to become triumphant over handicaps that would have overcome lesser men.

In Roosevelt there was the great triumph over illness that would have incapacitated for life a less hardy soul. Lincoln triumphed over the lack of educational opportunity and the other handicaps of a humble pioneer boyhood. Yet both, when the opportunity for service to mankind came, when the crisis had to be met, developed into the greatest of the leaders of mankind. Above all, both had a peculiar and deep sympathy for humanity, for all humanity, regardless of race, creed, or color. I think both men were in this respect different from most men. By deed and works they proved their love for their fellow man. No matter how humble the person, they were always ready with understanding sympathy to assist the troubled, the sick, and the insecure.

While the domestic policies of all our Presidents have to be evaluated ultimately in the light of historic perspective, and subsequent events in the government of the Nation, I think I can quote with propriety at this time the following comment appearing in this morning's New York Times:

"In one of his state papers Mr. Roosevelt remarked that his own philosophy of government could be found in a quotation from Abraham Lincoln which said, 'The legitimate object of government is to do for the community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot do as well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities.'"

Both Lincoln and Roosevelt rose to the highest peaks of greatness when there appeared the crisis of their age. For Lincoln, the crisis of the unity of the Nation. For Roosevelt, the crisis of the threat of the most cruel and inhuman totalitarian philosophy which challenged the whole of our democratic and Christian way of life. Both became world figures that were looked to with hope by most of mankind, and both were taken away by an all-wise Providence when, like Moses, they could see the fruits of their labors and victories and look into the promised land.

In the words of the Lord, as He spoke to Moses in sight of the Promised Land, so may we also regard the Lord as having said to both Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt:

"I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither" (Deuteronomy, 34, 4).

All of us consider the Gettysburg Address as one of the few great expressions of a great soul that will live as long as democratic Christian civilization lives. It possesses the literary movement and thought of the Bible more than any other speech of modern times. We can apply the thought in the last paragraph paraphrased to apply to these two men:

"It it for us the living, rather, to be dedicated to the unfinished work they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us * * * and that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, and that this Nation, this world, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

V/15

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Press TOWN Afringfield., Mit. DATE . P. p. c. 1.7. 1945.

BY ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

By Direct Wire to The Springfield Leader and Press

WASHINGTON, Monday-When you have lived for a long time in close contact with the loss and grief which today pervades the world, any personal sorrow seems to be lost in the general sadness of humanity. For a long time, all hearts have been heavy for every serviceman sacrificed in the war. There is only one way in which those of us who live can repay the dead who have given their utmost for the cause of liberty and justice. They died in the hope that, through their sacrifice, an enduring peace would be built and a more just world would emerge for humanity.

While my husband was in Albany and for some years after coming to Washington, his chief interest was in seeing that the average human being was given a fairer chance for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." That was what made him always interested in the problems of minority groups and of any group which was at a

disadvantage.

As the war clouds gathered and the inevitable involvement of this country became more evident, his objective was always to deal with the problems of the war, political and military, so that eventually an organization might be built to prevent future wars. *

Any man in public life is bound, in the course of years, to create certain enemies. But when he is gone, his main objectives stand out clearly and one may hope that a spirit of unity may arouse the people and their leaders to a complete understanding of his objectives and a determination to achieve those objectives themselves.

Abraham Lincoln was taken from us before he had achieved unity within the nation, and his people failed him. This divided us as a nation for many years.

Woodrow Wilson was also stricken and, in that instance, the

peoples of the world failed to carry out his vision.

Perhaps, in His wisdom, the Almighty is trying to show us that a leader may chart the way, may point out the road to lasting peace, but that many leaders and many peoples must do the building. It cannot be the work of one man, nor can the responsibility be laid upon his shoulders, and so, when the time comes for peoples to assume the burden more fully, he is given rest.

God grant that we may have the wisdom and courage to build a peaceful world with justice and opportunity for all peoples the world over.

And now I want to say one personal word of gratitude to the many people who have sent messages of affection and condolence during these last days. My children and I are deeply grateful. I want to say too that the people who waited in the stations and along the railroad to pay their last respects have my deep appreciation.

"And now there abideth these three-faith, hope, charity, but the E. R. greatest of these is charity."

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2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill.
PHONE 960

TOWN Brunswick H.L.

DATE April 19 145

The Happy Warrior

On the front line of battle The Happy Warrior had to lay down his gun on the eve of the end of the war which he so gallantly fought to save the world. The end came at a time when he was badly needed to continue, but the Almighty rules.

The Happy Warrior outlived most of his important associates. Secretary after secretary have gone ahead. Cabinet members who started with The New Deal are for the most part on the other side of The River. Supreme Judges, United States Senators and Congressmen have preceded him so rapidly that the whole complexion of Washington has changed. However he left the earth and his beloved country, a friend to all the people, high and low.

Born in Wealth and affluence, educated mostly in private schools before going to Harvard University, he was the greatest champion of the cause of the common people since Christ.

There have been contrasts of leaders of this country many times. Alexander Hamilton was a poor man but championed the cause of the rich. Thomas Jefferson was a rich man but championed the cause of the poor. Abraham Lincoln, born in a log cabin in Kentucky, rose to the mighty position of saving the nation, and like Mr. Roosevelt, died on the battle front of service to his country. He likewise championed the cause of the humble and helpless.

Mr. Roosevelt served his country in so many capacities and so well, with great dynamic force and sincerity that it will require historians many years to give a full account of his marvelous accomplishments and just what they have meant, not only to the United States, but to the world.

It was he who said when complaints were being made about the rationing of gasoline, "I am not trying to save gasoline, I am trying to save the nation."

It was he who said one chilly night in November, 1933, that the following Saturday people all over the country would receive a pay check to provide clothing and food for those in want. It was he who said labor should be paid a decent wage and that big industry was not entitled to all the profits. It was he who said Nazism and Facism must be wiped out now for all time to come. It was he who proclaimed the four freedoms, which will be like a star in the East, guide people back into the pathways of Peace and Good Will toward men.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER MANS. TOWN. Corthage ..., The. DATE Oful 18 1945

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE

"We Cannot Escape History" Editor Press:

"Let us bury the great Duke Mourning when their leaders fall. Lead out the pageant, sad and slow As fits an universal woe."

These lines from Tennyson's Ode to the Duke of Wellington kept running through my mind as I listened to the stately solemn music from the great organ that played accompaniment to the grief of a mighty nation.

I thought of the coming conference that is to mean, to a great extent, the triumph or defeat of the hopes for future years of a stricken humanity and a broken world; of those ideals of justice and freedom which President Roosevelt so eloquently advocated. I had much hope of what he might be able to accomplish for the cause of justice in dealing with Stalin, especially in regard to suffering Poland. But the plans for a great accomplishment were made in due time, and the presence there of the great Minnesotan, Harold Stassen will mean much for he has both vision and integrity. These men should have our sympathy and understanding as they try to solve the almost unsolvable problems, and we cannot escape our share of responsibility. In the words of Lincoln: "No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion.'

Though it is a very different kind of loss from that which confronted the nation in the tragedy of Lincoln's death, comparisons are being made, in that both died on the ever of victory in arms, and left the problems of reconstruction to less capable

hands. And Garfield's memorable words have been cited. But Lincoln's assassination caused horror and bitter resentment. And a great mob in New York City was on its way to take revenge on the newspapers that had been attacking Lincoln and on other enemies also. Gen. Garfield, by a gesture as of prayer secured their attention and thus addressed them:

"Friends and Fellow Citizens: Clouds and darkness are round about Him. His pavilion is deep waters and thick clouds of the sky. Justice and judgment are the habitation of His throne. Mercy and truth go before His face.' Fellow Citizens - God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives."

I wonder how many who have read this story recognized those beautiful sentences as taken from Psalms, here and there, and not from one. How great and God-inspired, the mind that could so command itself as to marshal such impressive truths at such a time of crisis. Perhaps a little more intimacy with God's Word migh help us also to meet our responsibilities.

Let us not do the way Will Rogers said the American people do: "They go to the polls and elect a man to be president, and then they go home and dare him to make good." Instead let us do for our new president what he has asked us-pray for himremembering that each of us is also, "standin' in the need o' prayer."

HENRIETTA BETTENGA.

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Democrat TOWN Pittsfield., ILL.
DATE of vi 18 1945

There are many similarities in the lives of Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. President Roosevelt's ideals and desires for human betterment and a peaceful world were much the same as those of Abraham Lincoln. Like Abraham Lincoln, there is little doubt that history will record him as one of the greatest men who ever lived. He made mistakes, yes, but that is only human. Like Lincoln, he had staunch friends and millions of admirers. Also like Lincoln, he had bitter enemies who reviled him, yet, even they knew in their hearts that he was fighting for the right, and they are now paying him high trib-ute, along with his loyal friends and admirers.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, III. PHONE 960

TOWN Kannas aly, mo DATE offills, 1945

WILL NOT FALTER

Nation Is Determined to Achieve Victory, Truman Tells Armed Forces.

GREAT LEADER LOST

President Likens His Assumption of Duties to Replacements on Battlefield.

AN ECHO OF LINCOLN

Must Bind Nation's Wounds and Care for Servicemen, He Declares.

Washington, April 17. (AP)—President Truman told the armed forces of the United States throughout the world tonight that the nation would not falter in the cause for which President Roosevelt gave his life.

The address was broadcast to the men and women of the army, navy, marines and coast guard, as well as to the people of the United States.

It was recorded for rebroadcasting in order to conform to the conveniences of fighters in every battle zone over the globe.

The text of the President's address:

"To the armed forces of the United States throughout the world:

'After the tragic news of the death of our late commander in chief, it was my duty to speak promptly to the Congress and the armed forces of the United States. "Yesterday I addressed the Con-

gress. Now I speak to you.

Felt Tremendous Shock.

"I am especially eager to talk to you for I know that all of you felt a tremendous shock, as we did at home, when our commander in chief

"All of us have lost a great leader, a far-sighted statesman and a real friend of democracy. You have lost a hard-hitting chief wre an old friend of the Earvices.

"Our hearts are heavy. However, the cause which claimed Roosevelt also claims us. He never faltered-

nor will we!

"I have done, as you do in the field, when the commander falls. My duties and responsibilities are clear. I have assumed them. These duties will be carried on in keeping with our American tradition.

"As a veteran of the first World

war, I have seen death on the bat-tlefield. When I fought in France with the 35th division, I saw good officers and men fall and be re-

placed.
"I know that this is also true of the officers and men of the other services, the navy, the marine corps, the coast guard and merchant ma-

Knows Courage of Soldiers.

"I know the strain, the mud, the misery, the utter weariness of the soldier in the field. And I know, too, his courage, his stamina and his faith in his comrades, his country and himself.

"We are depending on each and

every one of you.
"Yesterday I said to the Congress

and I repeat it now:
"Our debt to the heroic men and valiant women in the service of our country can never be repaid. They have earned our undying gratitude.
... America will never forget their sacrifices. Because of these sacrifices, the dawn of justice and freedom throughout the world slowly casts its gleam across the horizon "At this decisive hour of victory, it is very difficult to express my feel-

ing. Words will not convey what is

in my heart.
"Yet, I recall the words of Lincoln, a man who had enough eloquence to speak for all America. To indicate my sentiments, and to describe my hope for the future, may I quote the immortal words of that

truly great commander in chief:
"'With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphans-to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among our-selves, and with all nations."

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN Clarence , THE.

DATE Opril 18 1945.

HAT OTHERS SAY-

PRESIDENT IS DEAD

History in calm retrospect wiss assess the greatness of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose sudden death yesterday afternoon shocked the world. For the present he may be described as one of the most unusual and vivid personalities who ever flashed across the troubled horizons of a world which in his time suffered from the plague of a corroding depression and from the most devastating war since time began.

Whatever may be the final estimate of him, it must be said that as no man before him he changed the course of this country's destiny and, by the sheer dynamics of a mind that proved sturdier than his body, altered the social, economic and political life of the nation. Whether this was good or bad, whether historians of the future will assign him a niche as dreamer or practical zealot, the fact remains that Mr. Roosevelt for 12 years was at the helm in Washington during a period when a man of lesser vigor or vision would have quailed.

In any event, the place of Franklin D. Roosevelt in history is assured as one of greatness—possibly the greatness that has been ascribed to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Movgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Record Herald

TOWN Arcola ILL

DATE opul 19 1945

Never before had an American President died in wartime. Abraham Lincoln fell under Assassin Booth's bullet just five days after the surrender of General Lee's army at Appomattox in 1865. Woodrow Wilson lived to see victory over Germany in World War I, but he fought a losing battle for the League of Nations and died early in 1924, a defeated leader. Many historians believe Lincoln's greatness might have been dimmed in the conflicts over reconstruction that followed the War Between the States, just as Wilson's prestige was lost in the conflict over the league that followed World War I. Thus Franklin Roosevelt, dying at the height of his career just as victory was to be achieved over Germany, seemed likely to live in history as a great man.

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, III. PHONE 960

PAPER Register.
TOWN Harrisburg, ILL.
DATE April 18. 1945

secretary of War Stimson—Born two years after Lincoln was assassinated. Stimson has lived through three wars, fought in one of them, and served as secretary of war twice. He also served as secretary of state under Hoover. He also will never be removed by Truman. But Stimson will want to retire himself, after victory over Japan is sewed up.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

SERVICEMAN'S REACTION TO

THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT

Ensign Emery B. Dowell, 21 year old son of the editor, now a naval pilot, wrote the following letter following the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. As he is a member of the staff, on leave for the duration, we are using it for the week's editorial, without his knowledge.

Friday, April 13-2:30 A. M.

It has been almost 10 hours now since we here first received the news of the death of Franklin Roosevelt. . . I went to bed about an hour ago, but I'm so absorbed in the thoughts of what this may or may not mean to all of America that I just must write something down. Please know that I am not trying to write an editorial or a memorial—I may never mail this, but I must write.

Without fear of being over dramatic I feel like today has been the most calamitous for all the world that has come during my lifetime. This should not be-no man should ever have become so completely in command and so absolutely indispensible (I'm using an old campaign word, but it's true now even if it were not five years ago) as Franklin Roosevelt was when he died yesterday afternoon.

It is useless now to think of that he had, and possibly quite necessarily, the qualification most needed to deal on an equal footing in today's international "intrigue."

s find my head teeming with questions: What has alleady been accomplished toward peace of a permanent stature? Just what has been planned for the immediate funire, and for the more distant reconstruction. Has any other man in our government been informed fully of all plans and decisions so that he may go ahead? And if not, how horribly, ruthlessly and shamelessly is the United States to be exploited by Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin. These two might delegate us to second rate power in 10 years that may place us in a condition that would take 200 years to recover from. At home what coups will John Lewis, William Green and Sidney Hillman attempt with the dreaded ring-master

Perhaps all of these are black fears in my mind at least. Probably 90 percent of them unfounded, probably not. I hope so. I make no pretense to know the answer to any of these, or a dozen more that we may face, but, well, I and a hundred million more are scared as Hell tonight.

Regardless of what our preferences and prejudices during the years have been, we must admit that the most prominent American of our time has died. There can be no denying his

greatness, his complete mastering of all eventualities, and the shrewdest politician of all time.

He was more completely known to the average American than any other man. Young men and women old enough to fight for their country cannot reach far enough in memory to recall when he first ascended to the position of chief executive. To these, who will think, I pray some will, a new man, a new face, and a new and much less convincing voice, will come nearer to meaning a new form of government rather than a new leader. We all consciously or otherwise have come to consider this man, not just an agent to lead administration of government, but an internal part of our goverment itself, just as we do the basic foundation-the constitution.

If, in the next ten years we find that this great man has so successfully laid the foundation for all we hope may come from this war, that other men can carry it through to adequate conclusion, then indeed we may readily acknowledge his immortality, greater than any other man has ever earned in all history. He shall richly deserve it and even this may be lost if the men who undertake the task fails through weakness of conviction President Roosevelt must have felt so strongly. All that has been gained, if indeed, gains have been made, I'm not intellectual enough to be certain, must not be lost, I'll not have a son to fight a third, and hundred times more fierce conflict.

I can remember when I was just a kid in grammer school of talking many hours to Grandfather about Abraham Lincoln. Tonight I have recalled everything he told me of that April eighty years ago when he died in the midst of his greatest task, reconstruction. Strong men cried then in fear that this nation could not recover from that bloodiest of all wars without the guiding hand of that master, Lincoln.

They were damned near right. Looting, crime and poverty reached an all-time high, and our Congress failed by a single vote to impeach his successor Andrew Jackson, who to the best of his limited ability was trying to carry out the plans and policies Lincoln had left behind.

I'm not prophesying such dark days again, though dark they will be, but I do have fear deep within me I cannot cough up.

Above all, we must not sell our new president, Harry Truman, down the river before he gets even a fair chance simply because he shines rather dimly in comparison. He has amazed me with each step forward in his ascent to the office he holds tonight. Somehow I feel he will do it again, and I pray God he does.

In the end I guess we are still sure the sun will rise in the morning, we'll still live, love, gripe and fight, and we'll conquer, if it does take time and endless effort. But tonight I mourn the death of Franklin Roosevelt with all the world, and I frankly fear somewhat for that same world because of it.

It is probably foolish and childish, Dad and Alyeene, but here it is. Hope I can sleep now.

All my love-Sonny.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER News

TOWN. J. Lotures ... Ho

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt passed away quietly and unexpectedly at Warm Springs, Georgia, Thursday, April 12, at 3:35 p.m. The world was stunned.

It was unbelievable that the man, who had been a dominant figure in our country's affairs from the first day he served as president, was dead.

Every radio broadcasting station in the country devoted every minute of its time to the tragedy, hour after hour and day after day. Advertising programs were eliminated and all joined in programs either directly about his death or of sacred music. The whole nation was plunged into mourning.

Newspaper stories were written by the best writers in our country. Radio programs presented the eulogies of outstanding speakers and commentators. In fact, within a few short hours after Roosevelt's death, everything was said that could be said. And said well

And yet, we feel that something should be recorded in these columns. This is but a small newspaper, serving a small part of our great country. But we are a very real part of the great nation that this man led so courageously for a longer period than any other individual.

Since there can be little of partisanship in death, we feel we can say our few words from the heart; to

speak for a people and not for a party. We think mostly of his great courage and his understanding, especially of his understanding of us, the "little people" of the country and of the world. As to his courage we think of his own personal affliction and how he carried on; of the great measures, unheard of, almost undreamed of, he instituted in this country, great reforms which are now accepted as a matter of course, even after we have forgotten the courage it took to initiate them. And his understanding of us and our hopes, our fears, our desires, our yearnings; most of the measures started under his leadership were for us, the little people. For us there is a greater chance of a secure old age, of our just share of this world's goods, of fair, decent working and living conditions, for safety of our small investments; the chance that our children may grow into healthy, robust citizens, taking their

places as part owners of our great country.

These great measures "of the people and for the people" are now a part of our national life. Administrations may come and go but these forward steps will not be lost, only improved and strengthened as their measures are realized.

their weaknesses are realized.

Washington and Lincoln were national figures.
Roosevelt was and is a world figure. Living, Roosevelt was a member of the Big Three; dead, he becomes one of America's Three: Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt.

He is dead. May God bless the work he did. May God grant us the peace for which he worked—and for which he died.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN. Fromminglon mo

DATE . 0 /2 0 1945

Franklin D. Roosevelt, the thirty-first President of the United States. is dead and his mortal remains rest beside those of his illustrious ancest-

those of his illustrious ancestors in the warm brown earth of the Hyde Park he loved so well. He is back home for all time. A grateful people mourns his untimely passing and wil hold sacred and keep evergreen with their tears the memory of this stalwart chieftain who gave his life for his country as surely as the soldier stricken on the field of battlle.

Along with Washington and

Along with Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln—and the Nation's great—he now belongs to the ages.

Two hundred years ago, Ben-jamin Franklin said: "If you would not be forgotten as soon as you are dead, either write things worth reading or do things worth writing."

Franklin D. Roosevelt abundantly followed both admonitions. He wrote things that will live in literature and the will live in literature and the relentless years will never dim the lustre of his remarkable acchievements. His decades of distinguished and tireless service to his Nation and to all Mankind constitute a notable contribution not only to the cause of good government, but toward a richer and a fuller and a more ideal life for those governed governed.

governed.

History will honor and esteem this man for many things. Incomparable statesmen, great humanitarian, fervent lover of liberty, he was truly the first citizen of the world.

It will honor him above all else, however, because he had the vision to see clearly the supreme crisis of our times and the courage to meet that crisis boldly.

boldly.

Men will thank God on bend-Men will thank God on bended knees, countless years from now, that President Roosevelt was in the White House to give leadership to the thought and action of the American people and the freedom-loving citizens of other lands in that dark hour when a powerful and ruthless barbarism threatened to overrun and destroy the progress and civilization of the world.

Franklin Roosevelt will nev-

The world.

Franklin Roosevelt will never be forgotten. We will always treasure fond memories of his nobility and his greatness, the golden sound of his magnetic voice, the comforting warmth of his big heart, every hour of his career of brilliancy so replete with rich deeds. We will remember him—again and again and again.

will remember him—again and again. And again and again.
And while he sleeps today beneath a wilderness of flowers, let us resolve to keep the faith and carry on the traditions and ideals of freedom which he so dearly cherished and for which he gave his life. FDR would have it so would have it so.

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Herald TOWN Kahoka ... THE

DATE Of il 20 1945

PRESIDENTS WHO DIE IN OFFICE A Contributor calls attention to the seemingly periodical cycles when presidents die in office. William Henry Harrison was elected in 1840 but held office for a single month before his death. It was 20 years later that Abraham Lincoln was elected and his death by assassination came shortly

after he had been inaugurated for a second term.

Garfield was elected in 1880, years later, and died some weeks after being shot by Guiteau. Twenty years later William McKinley was reelected for a second term-in 1900and was the victim of an assassin's bullet at the Buffalo exposition. Twenty years later Warren G. Harding was elected only to die im office after serving part of his term.

The case of President Zachary Taylor apparently breaks the "cycle." He was elected in 1848 and died io 1850.

He was 65 when he died.

Now the president who was re-elected in 1940-Franklin D. Roosevelt —has died in office and is succeeded by Vice President Harry Truman, It is said that these presidents who died in office were past a safe age to assume the great responsibilities of the office but that can hardly be true when three of the seven died through assassination. The elder Harrison was in poor health and aged when he took over. He had seen service in the Indian wars. The rest were by no means beyond the ages of normal activity. Harrison was 68, Lincoln wa. 56, Garfield was 49, McKinley was 58, and Harding the same age, when death removed them. President Roosevelt lived a little more than two months past his 63rd birthday.

Cone fact stands out that seems a guarantee of the stability of our republic. The vice president is sworn into office immediately. There is no interim or lag in administration caused by death of a president. President Coolidge took the oath of office in the dim lamplight of a rural home in New England with his fathe, who was justice of the peace, administering the oath. Vice President Truman repaired at once to the White House when the sad news came and was sworn in hy Chief Justice Stone of the supreme court. Though the duties of the office are eaxcting, a vice president is always prompt to accept the challenge that it brings .- Quincy Herald-Whig.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Leader

TOWN Stungler ... TIT.

DATE offil 20 1445

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Citizens of Sturgeon and the country side paid due respect to the memory of our departed President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, last Saturday afternoon, at 3:00 P. M., by holding memorial services at the Methodist Church. The bell was tolled at 2:50 and 3:00, announcing to the townsmen that the hour for our departed President's funeral was at hand. Practically every pew in the Church was filled and any observer could have distinguished the meaning of the hour by the look upon the faces of those who filed into the church to pay their respect to the memory of such a great man. Regardless of political affiliation, they were there, because he was their President and they respected and honored him for the great part he had played in shaping the destiny of our country.

M. M. Riley, our Mayor, was responsible for the services, and with the help of other faithful residents, the following program was arranged for the afternoon service: Piano prelude, 'Sunrise Tomorrow', Mrs. Francis Hulett; short speech by the Mayor; "America", the choir; dress there was absolute silence in the large church and tears Rosary", (one of the President's came to the eyes of those who

Lord's Prayer in unison; Memorial Address, Rev. Howell; "Faith of our Fathers", choir; Benediction, Rev. M. G. Jacobs, and 'The Star Spangled Banner' choir. As the congregation left the Church, Mrs. Hulett played "Crossing the Bar".

Re. Howell, a Baptist Minist er and a teacher in our local school, who gave the address, is to be highly commended for the wonderful way he conducted his address. It was indeed a beautiful tribute, He told of the many gracious and noble things the President had done for the American people and the world at large. He referred to the small cloud that hung over the little cottage at Warm Springs, Ga., the Thursday before, and how it had grown until it now covered the entire world, and he also brought into his address two lovely poems that fitted into the life of the President, after which he quoted the words, "Lest we forget". But we can never forget the deeds of kindness and mercy Franklin D. Roosevelt did for his own people and all the freedom loving people of the world.

All during Mr. Howell's ad-

favorite songs), Mrs. LeRoy listened so attentatively, as Mason; Scripture reading, their thoughts traveled with 112thPsalm, Rev. C. D. Howell, Mr. Howell's words and they

too recalled the many days of hardships and the weary hours which he had devoted to his country. The speaker referred to the fact that 80 years ago we mourned the loss of our President, Abraham Lincoln, by an assassin's bullet, and today we mourn the loss of a President who slept his life away in the service of his country And no trurer words could be spoken than those that he had given his life in the service of his country. He is a hero in this War too, and he will go down in History, as the Greatest President we have ever known. We shall miss him more and more as the days stretch into months, and the months into years. He was truly a Great Man.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN XIREVILL., mo TOWN XIREVILL., MA.

The passing of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt at three-thirty-five p. m., today, shocked the nation.

"Our Beloved President"

By
IDA CRIM SALISBURY
8 p. m.-4-12, '45

1303 South Baltimore St., Kirksville, Missouri Our beloved Commander In Chief, who chose to call this earth one the lesser stars,

Has gone on to greater worlds, above this land of ours. Tonight his weary soul rests in the arms of his Maker; For God has gathered another soldier home.

Our beloved President stands among his boys tonight; Stands erect in that great theater of love Where the soldier angels sing:

God's peace on earth will bring
Our beloved President, whose prayer was ever for the under
Privileged man and child in every land, everywhere.
Tonight Lincoln must have bowed his head low
As he took the hand of our beloved Franklin Delano.
Our beloved President has been called from this stricken land;
We'll carry on his every wish; his every command.

Behind his spirit we will stand; stand to the last man. His beloved name need not be carved in monuments of stone For it is written across the skies, from sunny Ethiopia To the snowy mounts of Nome.

A warrior who died for peace, died that children might smile again; Rise above war's tortured pain; rise above the blood soaked earth, In the land that gave them birth.

Our beloved President sleeps tonight; his brave heart burst; He passed in the thick of the fight; passed from this world Made foul for the moment, by the carrion brain of a beast; Carrion that will not rot.

But man will tear the canker from the earth, Never shall the tyrant find rebirth. Civilized man shall ever know The seeds of war must never grow—

Their only fruit "Crosses row upon row."

Let's bow our heads and give our pledge—
Beloved President, you shall not have died in vain,
Christ died our souls to save,
To bring forth from the grave.
You died, humanity to save,
Died that the unborn child might not become a slave.

(In tribute to Franklin Delano Roosevelt)

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Herald & Review.

TOWN Decatur, ILL.

DATE Opril 22 1945

Greatest President?

Lincoln was respected by a bare majority of the northern states until he died. Until the very hour of his death he was a political figure, lambasted in print and in speech by all political opponents.

Only dead men are acknowledged to be statesmen. While they live, they are politicians.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER NOWS Week

TOWN. Mag ozine..., 11.

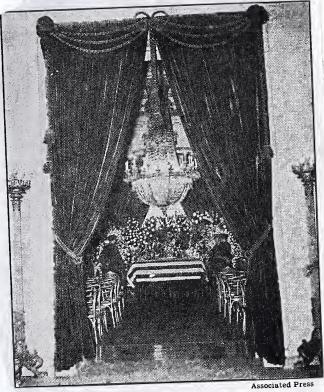
DATE . opnl. 23. 1945.

The World Citizen

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 32nd President of the United States, cannot escape the accolade of greatness that history will accord him. Too many things happened to him, and he made too many things happen to the nation and the world, for his name to dim. Whatever history's final judgment on his accomplishments, the tremendous and dramatic record of his career can never be erased.

The very nature of the man assured his fame. An aristocrat by birth, he will stand with Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson as one of the great democratic leaders of a great democracy. A man of wealth, he legislated for the common man. A cripple throughout most of his career, he was a man of action as well as words. A supreme politician, he was one of the three leading statesmen of his time. An advocate of peace, he died as the leader of the greatest army of free citizens ever to wage a war.

No man of his time was more beloved. No man since Abraham Lincoln endured more calumnies. He dedicated himself to politics—the life blood of a republican democracy—and weathered, sometimes lightheartedly and sometimes in anger—the praises and abuses that his profession made inevitable. He led the nation through its worst depression, sometimes holding fast to the Constitution, sometimes waving it aside. No President ever



The flag-draped casket rests in the White House

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Mewowerk...

TOWN. Magazine., ILL.

DATE .. of .. 13. 1945

Mr. Roosevelt's departure from the scene at a moment when broad foreign and domestic ideals have been established and before the long labor of effectuating them has been finished will enlarge his memory. If disillusion should come in the years ahead, neither Mr. Roosevelt nor the ideals he defined will be blamed. The fault will fall on those who succeed him. Like Lincoln, he died at the moment of victory and before the labors of reconstruction began. Mr. Roosevelt will stand in history beside his ideals, whatever chance may befall their working out.

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER News week ...

TOWN. Mag. azini., ILL.

DATE . Of n.f. 23. 1.945

It would be entirely in the nature of Franklin D. Roosevelt to warn anyone sitting down to write at a time like this against overwriting, emotionalism or empty eulogy. There has been enough of that in any event. Mr. Roosevelt had a buoyant way of believing that things would go on somehow, regardless of losses and disaster. The proof of this trait over the years was shown by his boundless optimism, by his disposition to let difficult situations settle themselves and by his indifference to what might happen to him personally in the face of physical danger. He would probably advise us all at this moment to have no fear, to expect with quiet confidence that the country's future is secure and to pursue actively the broad outlines of policy, which he often called his "objectives."

Our military effort will move relentlessly to its assured conclusion. The armed services are in good hands. Whatever may have been his love of novelty, he knew how to run a war on sound principles. He was vastly more skillful than Lincoln in that respect. It took the Great Emancipator years to find competent leadership for his armies. Mr. Roosevelt's initial choice of leaders has proved wise. King and Marshall have been a great team, and subordinate commanders have proven themselves. There have been singularly few changes in the high command in our years of conflict. The American people, then, need have no major worries on the war front.

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2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Newsweek.

TOWN. May agent, ILL.

DATE of 123 1945

The Blow Falls: Event after event had piled up with overwhelming inevitability and Roosevelt made ready for war. The isolationists still vigorously opposed every move, but he sensed the sweep of history. Yet even he was shocked by the suddenness with which Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, in the midst of peaceful negotiations.

War had come. In a flash a nation was united behind its Commander-in-Chief. Congress buried the hatchet and voted him powers greater even than those Abraham Lincoln had assumed during the Civil War or Woodrow Wilson in the last war.

With Churchill, who met him in Washington, he promulgated the Declaration of the United Nations. Great Britain, Russia, China and a score of other nations joined with the United States to drive Nazism and Fascism from the earth.

The world was thrilled when Roosevelt and Churchill met again at Casablanca and at the President's instigation decided that only by unconditional surrender of the common enemy could the war be ended. That was in January

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN. Mogazin, TE.

DATE of il 23 1945.

The most striking thing about Roosevelt's death was that millions and millions of people felt a personal sense of loss and found tears for it. "I'd been depending on him in such a personal way," they said; or, "I feel as though I'd lost my father."

That is how Walt Whitman expressed the country's grief at Lincoln's death; he called him "my father." Like great shafts driven into the national consciousness, these two deaths struck a stratum of grief which had lain untouched by any event in the 80 years between.

"My father!" It was more than a figure of speech. It was a confession of loving dependence. Even those who opposed Roosevelt, even some who hated him shared the abrupt sense of dizziness, as though a whole wall of the nation had been blown away. At the moment of his death he was the most important man in the world. He was the one American who knew, or seemed to know, where the world was going. The plans were all in his head. Whether one liked this or that policy or not, one knew that he would do what he would do. It was easier to let him worry for the whole country.

One of his "Young Guard" Democrats,

One of his "Young Guard" Democrats, Representative Lyndon Johnson of Texas said, "There are plenty of us left here to try to block and run interference, as he had taught us, but the man who carried the ball is gone—gone. . . . He was just like a daddy to me always; he always talked to me just that way. He was the one person I ever knew—anywhere—who was never afraid. . . . God, how he could take it for us all!"

ILL. PRESS CLIPPING SERVICE

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN. Magazine, HL.
DATE April 23. 1945.

¶ At 7:15, Raymond Swing broadcast from the Blue's Washington office. Many listeners felt his commentary was the best of the evening. "The news of President Roosevelt's death," he said, "comes like the message of the death—in his time—of Abraham Lincoln." It was the first of many such analogies. Swing attempted no news analysis, no predictions of the far-reaching effects of the President's death, but used his time to tell of the twelve years in office, and of all that had been accomplished.

¶ At 7:30, Raymond Moley went on the Blue from New York to recall his early intimate association with the President, and to retell the story of the attempted assassination at Miami, Fla., on Feb. 15, 1933.

■ By 8 o'clock, the first shocked excitement was over. The Blue network put on a rapid succession of Mr. Roosevelt's friends and colleagues for brief eulogies. Ministers of all denominations led listeners in prayer throughout the evening. Orchestras which had come prepared to play dance music for the Thursday-night variety programs switched to hymns for

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

PAPER Life..

TOWN. Magaziere., Tel.

DATE .. offil . 3.0. 1945

what Roosevelt did was what Elizabeth did, and what Lincoln and Henry IV failed to do—he succeeded in playing for time. Lincoln came to the White House when politics had failed, too late for compromises and temporization to work. But as every schoolboy learns and forgets, those were the methods he hoped to be able to apply. Henry IV's own conversion could not heal the wounds of 16th Century France or halt the religious wars. But Elizabeth's policy of wait and see, play with this group and that, flirt with all and marry none, annoy Protestants and persecute Papists—this policy at last was triumphant, for when one issue came finally to be settled, the invincible Armada was defeated quite as thoroughly as the blitzkrieg army

2930 N. Morgan, Shelbyville, Ill. PHONE 960

TOWN Hoaperton, ILL.

DATE May 7 1945

Roosevelt Award Is Blocked in The House

WASHINGTON — Rep. John M. Robsion, R., Ky., prevented passage today of a bill to award the congressional medal of honor post-humously to President Roosevelt.

The measure was before the house on unanimous consent. Under the rules of the house an objection made by Robsion did not kill the bill but delayed action at this time.

"For nearly 100 years this medal, under law, could only be awarded to those who have gone far beyond duty and performed extraordinary services in combat," Robsion said. "The president does not need this to honor him. He was elected four times and this will not pay him further honor.

Robison said Abraham Lincoln was assassinated while still president as a direct outgrowth of another war, but was given the meddal.

He also said that many outstanding heroes are not given the medal, even those who are "cooked in oil when their ships are sunk."

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DATE May 9.1.1945

Everybody has read of the extraordinary honors paid to the memory of the dead President in England's parliament — something without precedent in all the centuries of English history — and how the King and Queen themselves attended a memorial service in St. Paul's cathedral. The laudatory editorials in foreign papers could be collected by bales. What is more to the point is the tone of the unsolicited "letters to the editor" from private citizens.

Statesmen are under more or less compulsion to pay honor to a departed head of a state and their words may be discounted, but there was no obligation upon the men and women who wrote letters like the following, which have appeared in the London Times:

"Sir: Many people in this island, in Ulster and presumably in Southern Ireland must hope that a suitable memorial to Mr. Roosevelt will be constructed on this side of the Atlantic as a permanent expression of our admiration for a great leader of the forces of democracy.

"May I suggest that it should provide for: (a) The erection of a statue within the shadow of the Mother of Parliaments close to the statues of Abraham Lincoln and of Oliver Cromwell; (b) the creation of an endowment fund for the benefit of those who have suffered from infantile paralysis, a cause very near the heart of the late President?

"I am, Sir, &c., Evelyn Wrench, 99 Gower Street. W. C.1





Lincoln Lore

June, 1975

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1648

F. D. R. and Lincoln: A Democratic President Shapes the Story of a Republican President's Life

"I think it is time for us Democrats to claim Lincoln as one of our own. The Republican Party has certainly repudiated, first and last, everything that he stood for."

So wrote the Democratic Governor of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on April 3, 1929. In truth, Franklin Roosevelt did not have a profound knowledge of the American past. But he did know the potency of historical figures as symbols. When, as President of the United States, he came to be seen by his enemies as a bearer of unprecedented innovations, he would use these historical symbols to legitimize — to "Americanize," one might say — his policies. Ironically, he tried on such occasions to make the "New" Deal seem like old hat. Historians probably did not literally follow the leads provided by President Roosevelt's fairly numerous references to Lincoln in various political addresses. Nevertheless, Roosevelt put his stamp on the whole intellectual and ideological life of

the age, and there is a sense in which the historical view of Lincoln changed profoundly with the Roosevelt years.

Alfred Haworth Jones has brought this subject to the fore in a recent book entitled Roosevelt's Image Brokers: Poets, Playwrights, and the Use of the Lincoln Symbol (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1974). One does not have to be in complete or even substantial agreement with the manner of the book's execution to say that Jones is to be commended for a bright idea.

The book has several obvious faults. One suspects that the publishers, perhaps desirous of cashing in on the popularity of *The Selling of the President* and of the generally repellant but fascinating theme of "grooming" a man for the Presidency (as Robert Redford was groomed in *The Candidate*), forced the title on Mr. Jones. As a dissertation, it bore the title, "Roosevelt and Lincoln: The Political Uses of a Literary



United Press International

FIGURE 1. Roosevelt's Image Brokers states that a pilgrimage to Abraham Lincoln's birthplace was "an unthinkable gesture for a Democratic executive" before President Franklin D. Roosevelt's visit in the spring of 1936. However, President Woodrow Wilson had visited the Kentucky cabin in 1916, when it was taken over by the National Park Service. President Roosevelt also made regular appearances at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington for Lincoln's birthday. This photograph shows the President, his naval aide Captain Walter B. Woodson, and Mrs. Roosevelt in front of the Lincoln Memorial on February 12, 1938. The photograph was furnished by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park and is reprinted by permission of UPI.

Image." Whatever the case, the book is not about Roosevelt's political managers and "image" manipulators, but about Roosevelt himself and, more particularly, about men like Carl Sandburg and Robert Sherwood who admired his politics and who also wrote about Abraham Lincoln.

Had his editors paid more attention to the real subject of Mr. Jones's essays, perhaps they would have urged him to improve upon his theme. A "Lincoln symbol" is a mythical Lincoln; the author should suggest some ways in which it is only a partial truth. Mr. Jones, surprisingly, seems to have almost no interest in the real Abraham Lincoln at all. He never tells us whether Roosevelt, Sandburg, and Sherwood's Lincoln is the real Lincoln, the Lincoln most historians had limned to date, a Lincoln different in some particular and profound ways from Herbert Hoover's Lincoln, or a Lincoln that had not been devised by that Democratic President with a deeper acquaintance with the American past, Woodrow Wilson. Although there is a chapter on "The Lincoln of Sandburg and His Admirers," we learn only that Sandburg's Lincoln was Whitmanesque and what the reviewers said about it. There is almost no attention to the details of Sandburg's portrait itself. As a result, the book sometimes boils down to saying that these men uttered Lincoln's and Roosevelt's names together frequently in the hope that the secure fame of the one would dilute the controversial reputation of the other.

An example of the feeling of vague dissatisfaction Jones's approach imparts will make my meaning clearer. He says that Sandburg's Lincoln was a "reaffirmation of faith in the people," that his character "was rooted in the Heartland," and that therefore Franklin Delano Roosevelt (a Hudson River squire who used cigarette holders, he might have added) invoked Sandburg's Lincoln symbol in order to cuddle up with the common man. It would be much more effective if Jones cared more about Lincoln and pointed out briefly that Sandburg's is not the only Lincoln and in what respects. Did Lincoln's "Heartland" oppose the Mexican War? Albert Beveridge, who wrote at the same time Sandburg did, did not think so. Did all the sons of the middle border marry women who spoke French, claim that they learned grammar at the age of twenty-three only after leaving their father and the log cabin behind, and send their sons to Exeter and Harvard? In the 1930's, historians linked the spirit of the frontier West with Jacksonian Democracy; why, then, was Lincoln a Whig for the entire life of that party? It would have been more convincing that this was a symbolic Lincoln if Jones had occasionally mentioned the competing images or Sandburg's "competitors," notably Albert Beveridge. With all its faults, it is a useful book and one that suggests a theme in Lincoln historiography that needs further explanation.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt knew history as a squire knows history, that is, as a smattering learned from a few courses at Harvard and as a collector. His college preparatory school, Endicott Peabody's Groton, aped British ways so slavishly that it taught almost no American history whatever. Young Franklin wanted to go to Annapolis; his primary acquaintance with American history, not surprisingly, came from Sailor Boys of '61 and The Boys of 1812. America's infatuation with naval power was reflected in his teenage Christmas and birthday gifts, Alfred Thayer Mahan's Influence of Sea Power upon History and The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future. His family prevailed upon him to attend Harvard. where he took four American history courses: a survey to 1783, one from 1783-1865, one from 1865-present, and a course on the West from visiting Professor Frederick Jackson Turner. He attended law school and became a collector of naval Americana, books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and prints.

In the 1920's and in the early years of his Presidency, Roosevelt's touchstone of historical greatness was Thomas Jefferson. Jones explains, against a backdrop of American culture in general, how Lincoln's image became important to the 1930's and to the image of this Democratic admirer of Thomas Jefferson. In the 1920's, most biographies of American historical figures partook of the debunking spirit. Paxton Hibben made Henry Ward Beecher a hypocrite, Edgar Lee Masters re-assassinated Abraham Lincoln, and Van Wyck Brooks said that Mark Twain surrendered his talent to the philistines. In the 1930's, by contrast, Grover Cleveland, John D. Rockefel-

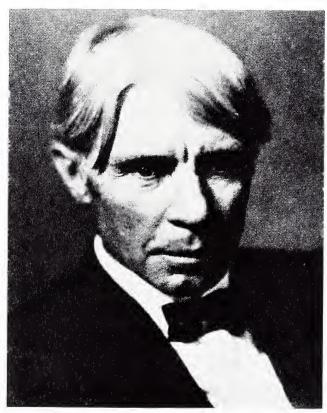
ler, Robert E. Lee, and Benjamin Franklin were among those who now received a favorable treatment at biographers' hands, but the major beneficiaries of the new affection for the American past were Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Walt Whitman, and Abraham Lincoln.

Stephen Vincent Benét and Carl Sandburg began the Lincoln revival in the late 1920's. By the late 1930's, they had created a new Lincoln landslide. Robert Sherwood's play, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, played 472 times on Broadway and became a successful film in 1940. Sandburg's *War Years* appeared in 1939 to rave reviews by historians and laymen alike.

Roosevelt, according to Jones, ditched Jefferson for Lincoln when Jefferson became the historical darling of the Liberty League and other such conservative organizations which wanted the government to leave them alone. Actually, this is an exaggeration, for the index to the *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* reveals a roughly equal number of references to Jefferson and Lincoln in every period of the New Deal and World War II. Frequently, Roosevelt said the same thing about Jefferson and Lincoln and in the same speech. Lincoln and Jefferson spent money on the capitol despite critics, Lincoln and Jefferson "packed" the Court, etc.

Nevertheless, it is true that Roosevelt invoked Lincoln's image for two reasons: he saw a parallel between the enormity of the crises of the Depression and of the Civil War, and he sought to identify with the common man. It should also be mentioned that Roosevelt's aides, as George E. Mowry has said, were diligent in producing historical precedents, and scrupulous and reasonably accurate in their quotations and attributions.

Roosevelt utilized Lincoln's image as a symbol of national unity in the face of crisis. In an address at a Jefferson Day Dinner in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1932, he used Lincoln to urge that Democrats end their rural/urban (frequently, dry/wet) split. Jefferson had preached "the interdependence of town and country," he said, and Lincoln did too in his First Inaugural Address ("physically speaking we cannot separate"). At Gettysburg in 1934, he broadened Lincoln's nationalist appeal by saying that he (along with Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Wilson) "worked



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 2. Carl Sandburg

for a consolidated nation." He used Lincoln's image as a champion of the common man in a 1939 address which pictured the Illinois Central Railroad's sometime counsel as almost a practitioner of what we have come to call "legal aid":

Lincoln, too, was a many-sided man. Pioneer of the wilderness, counsel for the underprivileged, soldier in an Indian war, master of the English tongue, rallying point for a torn nation, emancipator — not of slaves alone, but of those of heavy heart everywhere — foe of malice, and teacher of good-will.

He also used Lincoln for some special pleading for the New Deal, as in the Second Fireside Chat of 1934:

The course we have followed fits the American practice of Government, a practice of taking action step by step, of regulating only to meet concrete needs, a practice of courageous recognition of change. I believe with Abraham Lincoln, that "The legitimate object of government, is to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but can not do, at all, or can not, so well do, for themselves—in their separate, and individual capacities."

Jones credits independent Republican William Allen White with making Lincoln into a figure urging an interventionist foreign policy — mainly by stressing Lincoln's sentiment that things could not exist half slave and half free. Roosevelt adopted the internationalist Lincoln sufficiently to accuse the leader of the isolationists, Charles Lindbergh, of being a Vallandigham; "appeasers" of the Fascists were analogous to Copperheads in Lincoln's day. Sandburg equated the isolationists with the nativist Know-Nothing party and stressed Lincoln's opposition to it; he also criticized "famous ex-flyers" who were really Copperhead Vallandighams.

One always pays an historical price for using a man as a symbol, and Jones's lack of interest in the man causes him to ignore a significant aspect of Roosevelt's Abraham Lincoln. The price that Roosevelt paid was to forget about Lincoln's traditional image as the friend of the Negro and to drain his image of content that was unacceptable to the South. One can see this perfectly in Roosevelt's address to a Jackson Day Dinner in 1938:

He [Lincoln] faced opposition far behind his battle lines from those who thought first and last of their own selfish aims — gold speculators in Wall Street who cheered defeats of their own armies because thereby the price of their gold would rise; army contractors who founded fortunes at the expense of the boys at the front — a minority unwilling to support their people and their government unless the government would leave them free to pursue their private gains.

Lincoln, too, fought for the morals of democracy — and had he lived the south would have been allowed to rehabilitate itself on the basis of those morals instead of being "reconstructed" by martial law and carpetbaggers.

Here is F. D. R.'s Lincoln in a nutshell — the Jefferson-ized Lincoln as champion of the common man against Wall Street coupled with the friend of the South who would have let them alone instead of reconstructing them.

To be sure, Roosevelt was espousing his generation's view of Reconstruction. He had read Claude Bowers's book on Reconstruction, *The Tragic Era*, and it may have shaped his views of Lincoln and Johnson as much as Bowers's books on Jefferson and Jackson had shaped his views of those presidents. Nevertheless, Jonathan Daniels asserts in *Three Presidents and Their Books* that "Roosevelt thought [Bowers's *Tragic Era*] should be specifically useful in bringing back Southern Democrats who had been frightened off to Hoover by Al Smith and the bogy of the Pope." He understood its political usefulness.

Roosevelt depended for support of his legislative programs on certain key Southern legislators who held committee positions of power because of their long tenure in Congress. Walter White, the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wanted President Roosevelt to back a bill which would make lynching a federal crime. He never got Roosevelt's support, and he had trouble even gaining an audience with the President until Mrs. Roosevelt took up his cause. "I did not choose the tools with which I must work," Roosevelt told White evasively. When White changed his tactics and tried to bypass Congress by getting the execu-

tive department to prosecute lynchers who crossed state lines under the recently and hastily passed Lindbergh antikidnaping law, Roosevelt again turned him down. Seen in this light, Roosevelt's Lincoln as symbol of national unity also meant quietism on the race question.

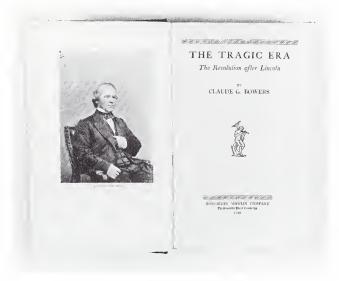
Roosevelt's Lincoln had its effect on the historians' Lincoln, if for no other reason than that so many historians were supporters of the New Deal. The power of this influence can be seen in James Harvey Young's appraisal of the friendship between the two most outstanding writers on Lincoln of their generation, poet Carl Sandburg and academic historian James G. Randall of the University of Illinois:

The Sandburg-Randall friendship is really a beautiful one. Oddly enough, S hasn't done much research from MSS. He is naive on this score, knows it, and profoundly respects R. R equally respects S's style of writing and talking, his human perception. They both agree as to world issues, respect for Lincoln and F D R.

A force powerful enough to make friends of the academic historian who lived with manuscript materials and the popular poet who was "naive" about them, was powerful enough to influence the way anyone treated historical events.

James G. Randall might have delivered the same batch of lectures on "Lincoln and the South" at Louisiana State University in 1945 had Franklin Roosevelt never lived, but a parallel is worth noting. Randall's contention was that Lincoln's plan of reconstruction was generous and that the cruel Republican plan instrumented after his death betrayed Lincoln's ideals. He tried to prove his point by arguing that Lincoln's friends who lived on after his assassination opposed Reconstruction and, for the most part, eventually left the Republican party for the Democratic party. "One does not need to belabor the point that the postwar Republican party was no longer a Lincoln party," said Randall. "The fact is well known." On this point he agreed with Franklin Roosevelt's Southern strategy. In fact, Roosevelt had said in 1939, "Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is

The result of such a view was a sort of liberal Democratic myth of American history. It celebrated Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson as the champions of the common man, ignored the Democratic party later (especially during the Civil War, when it was doing anything but championing the common black man), focused on Abraham Lincoln and his factional enemies in the Republican party during the Civil War (rather than their common enemies, the Democrats), and then very quickly pictured the Republican party as the party of big business, the rich, and the conservatives once Lincoln was gone from the scene. Randall was the most eloquent forger of this myth in the Lincoln field. "If one looks for the complete



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. Reconstruction for Roosevelt.

opposite of Lincoln's policy and program," Randall urged in the "Lincoln and the South" lectures, "he finds it not among the Democrats, but among the Jacobins [the radical faction in the Republican party]."

Another example of the workings of the myth can be found in Arthur Schlesinger, Junior's influential Pulitzer Prizewinning book, The Age of Jackson, written in 1945. An admirer of the New Deal, to say the least, Schlesinger would go on to write a famous multi-volume history of Franklin Roosevelt's administration. In the Age of Jackson, he helped map out the Democratic myth. "Whatever remained of the live Jacksonian tradition had in the main, by 1858, entered the Republican party," wrote the youthful Harvard historian, probably only unconsciously echoing President Roosevelt's willingness to sweep the post-Jackson Democrats under the rug. "Does anyone maintain," Roosevelt had said in 1939, "that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Thomas Jefferson or of Andrew Jackson? To claim that is absurd." And in another passage, Schlesinger came very close to Roosevelt's periodization: "The fact was that by the fifties both the old parties had disappeared. The election of 1844, as Gideon Welles observed many years later, was 'the final struggle between the two opposing elements known as democrats and whigs' which had sprung into life over the great economic questions of the thirties."

In an even more startling passage, Schlesinger suggested probably the strangest Lincoln progenitor in the literature, Democrat Silas Wright of New York, who died in 1847.

The psychological necessities of the day had transmuted Silas Wright into a symbol. It was inevitable that the North create a leader to voice its moral sentiments against

slavery: a man of the people, humble in origin, modest in circumstance, plain in manner, given to hard physical labor himself, digging on a farm in New York (or splitting rails in the shadowed backwoods of Illinois), so that his very life might embody a challenge to the values of the slaveholder. Still the leader could be no extremist, no fanatic, but a man who would give the South every latitude until principle was clearly threatened, and even then would place the Union above everything else; yet whose steady awakening to danger would express the awakening of the free states, and whose stern loyalty to principle would prevent the compromise of conscience.... As no other political leader, Silas Wright filled these specifications. . . . His essential conservatism reflected the reluctance of the North to tear away the bonds of peace, but his firmness expressed the profounder reluctance to share the guilt of slavery. . . . The words could apply to another and greater man. Indeed, Silas Wright was a preliminary sketch for Abraham Lincoln.

Yet history stubbornly resists myth. More recent historians, probably many of them themselves Democrats in politics, suggest that the Democratic party was founded on the New York-Virginia alliance, that it was thoroughly committed to a conspiracy of silence in regard to slavery, and that the Whig party contained many more volatile elements of moral reform, especially anti-slavery, than the Democrats. Abraham Lincoln's Whig years are no longer considered an embarrassing Neanderthalism, and some historians, notably Cornell's Joel Silbey, are finally studying the party that was swept under the rug even by the Democrats themselves, the Democratic party in the Civil War era. We live with a very different Lincoln today from the one President Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave us.



 $United\ Press\ International$

FIGURE 4. President Roosevelt appeared at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington for a Lincoln birthday observance in 1944. With him is Major General Edwin M. Watson. By this time, Roosevelt identified with Lincoln as a wartime President. When he died, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote a newspaper column comparing the deaths of Presidents Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt, all of whom died or suffered from debilitating illnesses near the end of a war before they could complete their humanitarian work. This photograph was provided by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park and is reprinted by permission of UPI.

GEOFFREY C. WARD

1 WEST 85TH STREET (APARTMENT 10-E) NEW YORK, NY 10024 (212-787-4618)

8/13/82

Mr. Mark E. Neely, Jr.
The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum
1300 South Clinton Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801

Dear Mark,

Poking around in the massive FDR papers -- Roy Basler had it easy! -- I ran across this odd item and thought you ought to have a xerox for your collection. It seems that FDR was inxited visited in A935 by an old party who, the President was assured, was the very last surviving guard of Lincoln's catafalque. He wasn't, of course: if the files are to be believed, whole regiments seems to have been on duty, and not one appears to have died in the intervening 70 years. This garbled letter was the only one that added any KNAMENNE anecdotes at all - and the ones it does add aren't much.

Anyway, yours for completeness.

Best,

Geoff Ward

Okilmington Chin. Feb. 15:193. Honorable Tranklin D. Goverell, Executive maurion, My Dear Mr. President: I am a busy housewife on a farm, but I always take time in the evening to listen to Mr. Levell Thimas's news report. On the evening of teb. 11th, I heard him amounte that you would receive but one ealler at the It hite House next day; - a Civil Ot ar vetern who had been a guard of honor, at fin coline bier as he lay in state in Philadelphia on his last journey to Springfield Ill. I understood Mr. Thomas to pay the this old poldier was the last one of Lincoln's quan of honor. Well, ur have hing in the village of Blanchester, in the southern part of Chinton Co. Shiv, a Civil Har poldier, who was one of Lincolnic quand of honor as his body reposed in the rotunda of the Capital at Columbus, This, on the same journe, He is Mr. Hypolite Leonard, born in Belgium, bu a citizen of the U.S. a. since in Jancy, and a my efallent citizen he has been. Tive years ago, he wrote a very interesting article for a local newspaper, entitled "my Geollections of

Lincolni; which is new, that is has never heen put lished be for, and it so enlightning, that it should be incorporated in his biography. Quoting from Mr. Leonarde, article he says: I paw Lincoln three times, twice while living and once after he was shot "The latter was in the State House at Columbia. Quoting: The first time I paw him was at a convaleacent Camp at alexandria, in the fall of 62 --- One day we were told to fall in line, that fincoln and his cabinet were coming to inspect our camp. I can remember as they rode along our line -Lincoln would stop and reach down and shake hands with the boys and would make a short talk. I will never forget pome of the things he said; Boys, I would gladly exchange places with any one of you! and - The pun does not shine on anything better than a true, loyal american citizeni. I got a chance to shake hands with him. The only president I ever shook hands with " "The next time I saw him was not more than a month later at Washington City. Some of the boys from the 60th Q.V.d. were waiting in Washington for transportation to Columbus to be discharged, as our time, had efficiend . - - One morning, about 8 o'clock a couple of other boys and I walked our to the depot. Directly ur paw Lincoln walking slowly down the depot, his hande on his back. He was alone a brain

fulled in and two generale got off and walked toward Lincoln. One of the men was big and tall, well dressed in new clother and bright shoulder straps. The other, a, short, heavy- pet man, clean, but his clother showed they had seen pervice. They mut Lincoln; the tall man walked up and shook hands with him and paid to him: This is General Stedens a Democrat from Ohir. W. Lincoln took the little mais right hand and took him by the ellow with hie Left, and looked down on the general a while before he shoke then paid: God bless the Duno. crate; This ended my pecond Time of seeing fin coln! The third and last time was after his death as I stated above. death as I placed about. Mr. Orisident of writing I have taken the liberty. Mr. Orisident of writing your attention to the you at length and eathing your attention to the fait that there is at least one other of the old guard" who is still living. Cersonally, I have always greatly admired abraham Lincoln, and always take lare of any authorities information concerning him that I can find. If I lived in Vachington, I should visit the Lincoln me. morial often; it would make me a better citizen. Things are better on the farm than they were a year ago, so we will end by paying with the Break Emancipator, "God bless the Democrate". Very truly yours. Imm. E. J. Mick. x

LINCOLN AND ROOSEVELT

Donald Richberg, the administration's executive emergency director, has found in an utterance of the past a most interesting parallel for present conditions. Speaking at Washington, Mr. Richberg compared the nation's leader toward emergence from the depression to the nation's leader in the war between the states and quotes from James Russell Lowell.

After recalling the fact that seventy years ago, during the Civil War, many who had the public ear cried aloud for a rigid program and a fixed policy, Mr. Richberg quotes James Russell Lowell thus:

"Mr. Lincoln's policy was a tentative one and rightly so. He laid down no program which must compel him to be inconsistent or unwise, no castiron theorem to which circumstances must be fitted as they rose, or else be useless to his ends. Mr. Lincoln, as it seems to us in reviewing his career, though we have sometimes in our impatience thought otherwise, has always waited, as a wise man should, till the right moment brought up all his reserves.

"One would be apt to think, from some of the criticisms made on Mr. Lincoln's course, . . . that the chief object of a statesman should be rather to proclaim his adhesion to certain doctrines than to achieve their triumph by quietly accomplishing his ends. In our opinion there is no more unsafe politician than a conscientiously rigid doctrinaire, nothing more sure to end in disaster than a theoretic scheme of policy that admits of no pliability for contingencies.

"Mr. Lincoln's perilous task has been to carry a rather shaky raft through the rapids, making fast the unrulier logs as he could snatch opportunity, and the country is to be congratulated that he did not think it his duty to run straight at all hazards, but cautiously to assure himself with his setting-pole where the main current was, and keep steadily to that.

"Whatever were his wishes, it was no less duty than policy to mark out for himself a line of action that would not further distract the country, by raising before their time questions which plainly would soon enough compel attention, and for which every day was making the answer more easy. . . . While every day was bringing the people nearer to the conclusion which all thinking men saw to be inevitable, it was wise in Mr. Lincoln to leave the shaping of his policy to events.

"In this country, where the rough and ready understanding of the people is sure at last to be the controlling power, a profound common sense is the best genius for statesmanship."

No matter what may be the opinion of any individual about present conditions, if he is fair-minded he cannot fail to see that the cir-

ROOSEVELT IS COMPARED WITH LINCOLN

Defense Morale

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

The address of President Roosevelt to the world seemed akin to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. The situations seem to me similar, one a national situation and the other international.

Often I wonder if there aren't too many citizens who think that the United States has no need of fear of domination by a foreign power. Some say, "What have we to fight for?" Many believe that they would be no worse off under dictatorship.

One cannot forget, or overlook, the well informed in our midst who are conscious of the dire treatment of the conquered nations but have the attitude of the priest and Levite who passed the man on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho that had fallen among thieves.

Numbers think only of their loved ones shedding blood for foreigners. Have these people thought of a conqueror who dreamed of world domination and whose dream became a reality? Do they remember he cried because there were no more worlds to conquer.

Former Ambassador Bullitt warns us against complacency. He speaks from experience in France.

Dorothy Thompson revealed in a recent address in Louisville the startling things she found in American colleges that were not conducive to the real American way

While walking down a very crowded thoroughfare in New York, I became aware suddenly that something was being pressed into my hand. That something was a piece of printed paper. When I think of the contents of that piece of paper, I wonder and ponder over the threat that "America will be destroyed from within."

Billions have been appropriated to purchase materials for defense. Is it essential that we build up a spiritual defense? Is any chain stronger than its weakest link? Is it necessary that a program be instituted in the defense movement to strengthen the merche of the people?

the morale of the people?

The writer wonders if some of the old readers and histories that have been displaced by the new could be put back into circulation, containing the "Midnight Ride of Paul Revere," Patrick Henry's speech "give me liberty or give me death," Washington at Valley Forge, Benedict Arnold, the Little Corporal and many other moral striking stories, placed into the hands of children and the public with the continued aid of the press and the radio, could fuse again into our American life that glorious heritage which too many Americans lack.

Adairville, Ky.

Roosevelt Parallel of Lincoln in U.S. History, Author Says

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln are parallel cases in American history, according to Albert A. Woldman, author of "Lawyer Lincoln" at Cleveland Community Religious Hour at Public Hall yesterday.

Unprecedented hatred marked both men's campaigns for re-election which were noted for being mean, hysterical and distorted, Woldman

said.
"Both had to face a bitter fight for re-election, Lincoln contending with Horace Greeley and Roosevelt with William Randolph Hearst," he asserted, "Both had to plead with the voters not to swap horses while crossing a stream and were rewarded by landslides.

the voters not to swap horses while crossing a stream and were rewarded by landslides.

"The similarity of their first administrations were striking. They began amid major crises, saved the nation from catastrophe, had trouble with the Supreme Court about interpretation of the Constitution as an instrument for the uplifting of humanity rather than as an untouchable and unalterable code.

"I am confident that our much maligned president will show the same magnanimity of spirit as Lincoln did when he inged Americaps to forget their differences and strive to finish their work with 'malice toward none, with charity for all."

"The punitive note in President Roosevelt's Madison Equare Garden speech referring to the hatred and intolerance to which he was subjected quickly gave way to a tempered conciliatory tone in his more recent address from his fireside when he pleaded for no bitterness where the sole thought is the welfare of the United States of America."

